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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

WOMEN FOOD SELLERS IN KHARTOUM, SUDAN: A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

by

© MARY ELIZABETH LIAO

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF GEOGRAPHY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING 1992

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PERMANENT ADDRESS:

Box 48 Site 3 RR 2
Winterburn, Alberta
Canada.

DATED....april 14.....1992

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommended to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled WOMEN FOOD SELLERS IN SUDAN, KHARTOUM: A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE submitted by MARY ELIZABETH LIAO in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of MASTER OF ARTS.

....
Dr. D.B. Johnson

....
Dr. L. Kosinski

....
Dr. D. Gill

Date..April 13........1992

ABSTRACT

Women Food Sellers in Khartoum, Sudan: A Feminist Perspective

The primary purpose of this thesis was to contribute to the field of feminist geography. However, the underlying motivation for writing this thesis was to contribute to the strengthening of the women's perspective within a discipline, and world, which has traditionally ignored and marginalized women's thoughts, experiences and lives.

Much of the research within feminist geography has been focused on the Western, white, middle-class perspective. Third World women are included into the discipline only as the victimized, mysterious and utterly foreign "other". Their experiences do not form a part of the mainstream reconceptualization of women-men environment interactions.

This thesis focused on one activity that women do in one space and environment of the Third World; that of food selling in Khartoum, Sudan. The study showed that the women food sellers cope with many gender-based constraints of time and space in trying to combine their reproductive and productive abilities.

Information for this thesis was collected through a variety of methods, including 107 questionnaire surveys, indepth interviews, interviews with government departments involved with the women and the food selling activity, personal observation, and discussions held with Sudanese women and the field research assistants/interviewers. The study revealed that, for the most part, the basic characteristics of the food selling activity; low profits, isolation, and continual harassment from government authorities, as well as the personal characteristics of the women food sellers; poor, rural migrants, married with children, sole or major breadwinner, illiterate, uneducated and unskilled supported much of the research that has so far been conducted on women in the informal sector. However, three findings particular to this study may provide further insights. One is that an enabling environment and extremely informal network amongst the food sellers did exist, and if the women could be persuaded to formalize these ties, this could well serve as a means of self-improvement in their work and life. Second, little attention has been paid so far to the long-term implications of the changes that women are making in the prescribed gender-space divisions of the Islamic-Arabic society. Third, the whole question of government attitudes, not just towards the informal sector, which has been the subject of many ILO studies, but towards women in the informal sector is an area that has received little attention.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Denis Johnson for his guidance in carrying out this thesis, and for giving me much needed encouragement throughout. Thanks also for putting up with my frantic phonecalls in regards to the destructive nature of my computer.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Currently, the world is in a condition where population growth, political unrest, social breakdown, conditions of poverty and environmental destruction are all intensifying. It is estimated that since 1970, the world has lost nearly 200 million hectares of forest cover, deserts have expanded 120 million hectares, thousands of plant and animal species have been exterminated, 480 billion tons of topsoil have been lost, severe atmospheric pollution has occurred and more than 1.6 million people have been added to the world population (Brown 1991).

Although Western countries are faced with difficult problems; the "sociological crisis", referred to by Schumacher (1974), increasing levels of "affluent disease", and the environmental crisis, it is within the developing countries that the breakdown between the environment and the daily needs of the people are most apparent. Increasingly this frightening context of global destruction and intensifying poverty has prompted sparks of resistance. Tens of thousands of grassroots environmental groups, both in the developed and developing world, have sprung up to protest and mitigate destructive activities (Durning 1991). Numerous international aid programs and agencies have ventured into the poorest areas of developing countries to try and alleviate conditions of poverty. However, despite the strength of such efforts, environmental destruction, rapid population growth, and unmitigated poverty continues at an unheralded pace.

The connection, and the interdependency between the developed and developing world has come to be understood within this context of global environmental degradation. Opposition to the supremacy of planning and policy making based solely on the pursuit of economic growth has emerged. The contradictions between the economic model of growth and the environmentalist perspective have become increasingly apparent and stridently vocalized. While economists have predicted optimistic long-term prospects for the economic development of the world, environmentalists have predicted severe and intensifying destruction of the environment. While economists believe advancing technology will increase the limits of sustainable development and predict a continuation and even an increase in present living standards, environmentalists believe that all natural ecosystems are confined to a limited amount of development and that to contravene these limits will mean the degradation and eventual destruction of these systems. Thus, environmentalists believe in the need for conservation, preservation, a voluntary decrease of living standards and a restructuring of economic policies that will reflect concern for the environment.

They also call for a restructuring of the indicators used by policy makers to measure the state of the world and the well-being of populations. They claim that while the economic indicators presently used; gross world product, international trade, provision of employment, and stock market prices, are still maintaining an upward trend and therefore indicate, to economists, that the world economy is reasonably healthy, that these are inadequate reflections of the potential for the environment to sustain continued human life (Brown 1991).

The use of such indicators of economic development has also been criticized for its lack of ability to measure how the additional wealth achieved by this continual growth has been distributed. As a result, new yardsticks of measurement have emerged, of which the Human Development Index (HDI), devised by the UN is prominent (Brown 1991; UN Development Report 1991). The HDI combines three indicators of development; literacy, life expectancy at birth and income. The HDI attempts to show the present state of development of **people**, rather than economies. With the division of data from 30 countries into gender categories, the "gender-sensitive HDI" is also one of the first measurements which recognizes the fact that large disparities between women and men exist. This is shown to be true in both developing countries, where in countries like Kenya, the female HDI is only half that of the male HDI, and in developed countries where Japan, for example, ranked number one for male HDI, drops to number 17 when the female HDI is integrated. (Un Development Report 1991). The UN Development Report 1991 states that if human development is considered to be the development of all, then the differences in female-male development indexes must be considered.

However, although this phenomenon of the "feminization of poverty" has now been officially recognized as a major problem, unlike the environmentalist perspective, there is still very little integration of this analysis into mainstream economic or development theory. It is still looked on as being the "problem of women" which, although important, can be dealt with after the major issues of environmental degradation, nuclear disarmament, and others are taken care of. Even the UN Development Report 1991 refers to the male HDI index as the "overall HDI" indicating that men, and their welfare is still considered to be more important than that of women.

Women, worldwide and throughout history, have been asked to choose between the "important" issues and "women's issues". Those choosing to fight for women's rights have been accused of being selfish; of undermining the fight for independence, nationalism, freedom from racial oppression (Karl 1984). It has always been assumed that, as an extension of the trickle down theory, if people are taken care of; aid money given to the leaders of a village, then the women, as dependents of men, would be taken care of. Evidence pointing to the disparate levels of literacy, education, wealth, and access to resources were ignored and were somehow thought of as being a social problem that was culturally defined and therefore untouchable.

However, as the feminist movement in both the developed and developing world has gained momentum, and the interaction of the two has increased, an awareness of the universality of the relatively disadvantaged state of women, as compared to men emerged. The similarities between the conditions of women's existences; the greater vulnerability to poverty, the limited fields of employment available, the contradictory values placed on reproductive "services" of women, and intensifying sexual violence, harassment and pornography began to be recognized. At the Nairobi Conference in 1985, women from around the world brought millions of individual experiences of oppression and exploitation. Women from the Third World were concerned with intensifying conditions of poverty, dowry killings in India, sex tourism in Thailand, clitoridectomy in Africa. Women from the First World were concerned with such issues as sexual harassment, pay equity, domestic violence, and challenging the patriarchal system at a theoretical and conceptual level. These experiences seemed to represent unrelated episodes of oppression, but gradually a critical analysis of the similarities of these experiences was achieved. It was recognized that although there are many different experiences and manifestations of oppression, and many different strategies for coping in these situations, the fact remained that these experiences were all part of the global context of political, economic and social systems which ignored, marginalized and exploited women: women's thoughts, abilities and work, supported oppressive gender relations, and only considered women as worthy subjects in their role of mothers and wives.

Feminists have analyzed the international economic, political, social and cultural systems in detailed and innumerable studies. As conditions of poverty, environmental degradation, the sociological crisis (Schumacher 1974) and global militancy intensify, women's vulnerability to poverty and exploitation worsens. The need for a gender analysis of global systems and institutions and the need for such analyses to be vocalized and finally paid attention to has become increasingly urgent.

Feminist geography represents one such attempt to document and analyze women's space within male-dominated societies. It seeks to explore and understand women's (and men's) geographical behaviour from a perspective which recognizes that women's activities are more often than not, determined and limited by male-controlled institutions and space which serve to give men more power, wealth, and spatial and temporal freedom at the expense of women. The recognition that human geographical behaviour is comprised of both women and men, and that women's and men's behaviour patterns, though separate, are interdependent upon the other, as well as the forces of the physical environment, allows human geography to become "gendered". Thus feminist geography is concerned with correcting the traditionally male-centered analysis of "man and the environment" where only men are considered to be the active agents of creation and change within the social and physical environment, to an analysis which focuses on women as equally active agents of environmental creation and change.

1.2 Case Study and Study Area

This study is based on one of the very few activities open to women in the informal sector in Khartoum: that of selling prepared food on street corners and in market places. Due to the Environmental Health Act (1975), which covers regulations regarding food and water handling, the activity is illegal and the women food sellers are therefore subject to constant harassment by the public health authorities. "Kashas" (or raids) are carried out on a spontaneous and continual basis and the women who cannot pack up their materials and hide quickly enough are fined, their materials confiscated or, if unable to pay the fine, they are taken off to jail. Many women are terrorized into quitting. However, for many women this is the only source of income for their family and to quit would mean even more deprivation.

Long, hard days characterize the life of the women food sellers. In addition to the normal domestic responsibilities of home and child care, the food selling job requires a great deal of time both for the preparation and selling of the food. Typically, the day for many of the women begins at 4 am and ends only when she has sold off all of the food, sometimes as many as 12 to 15 hours later. The bulk of the work involved with both the food selling job and the domestic responsibilities falls on the shoulders of the individual women, with little assistance received from other family members.

Meals of kisra (a type of bread), stews of tomato, meat and okra, (as well as tea and coffee) are offered to customers working or shopping in the area. It is a cheap meal for these customers and the demand for the food seller service is high. However, the women food sellers are caught between a number of dilemmas which make their life an endless struggle for physical and mental well-being. Having fled from severe conditions of poverty in their rural homelands, the majority of the women now find themselves confronted by the difficulties of surviving economically in the crowded conditions in poor urban settlements. With no options but to work, and with no real choices except to labour as food sellers, the women face the shame of engaging in an activity that has traditionally been a part of the services that prostitutes gave in their job. The women, especially the older women, feel this shame keenly. (See Plates 1.1 and 1.2 for photographs of the women food sellers).

The women food sellers scatter themselves throughout the city of Khartoum, which is the capital city of the Sudan (see Figure 1.1). Khartoum is a sprawling city of some 6 million plus people, half of which, it is estimated, live in squatter settlements, and two-thirds of which, it is estimated are women. Of the six major cities in the Sudan, Greater Khartoum[1] has 60% of the total urban population with a growth rate 2 percentage points higher than the country's average growth rate of 3.1%. The city is beset by problems familiar to primate cities of the developing world; overcrowding, social unrest, increasing crime, shortages of water supply, sewage and waste disposal systems, and burgeoning populations of the unemployed and underemployed.

Eight areas in Khartoum were selected to observe and interview the women food sellers. These sites are shown on Figure 1.2.

1.3 Thesis Objectives

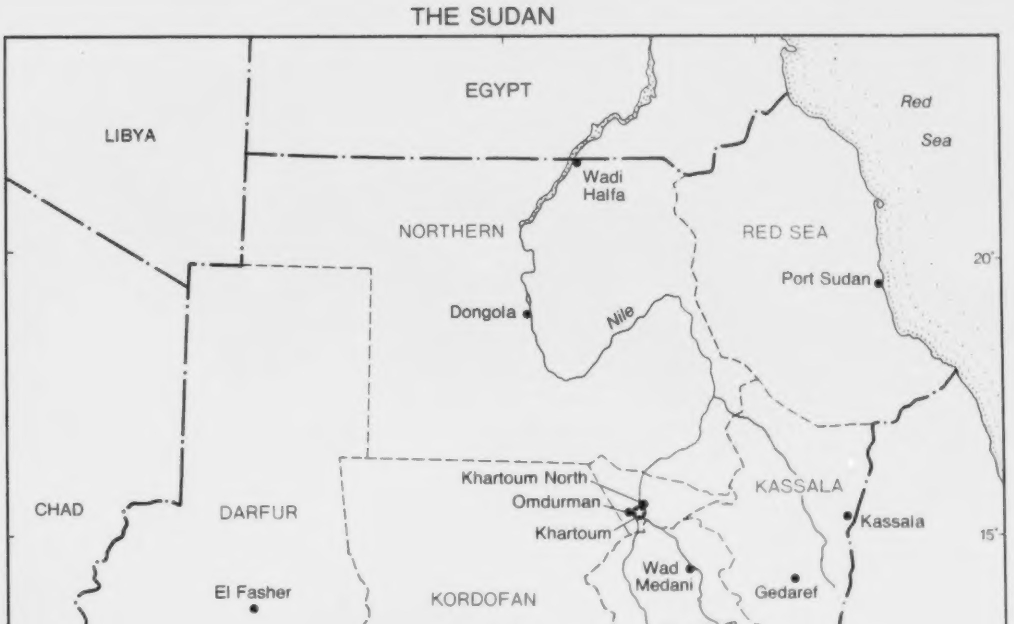
The primary goal of this thesis is to make visible the conditions of women in one space, and in one environment of the world, and in doing so, contribute to the strengthening of the woman's perspective within a world which has traditionally ignored and marginalized women's thoughts, experiences and lives. Women food sellers in Khartoum, having fled severe conditions of drought and famine in their rural homelands, now find themselves confronted with the difficulties of surviving in the crowded conditions of urban life, with just barely the

---

[1] Greater Khartoum encompasses the three cities spanning the White and Blue Nile rivers; Omdurman, Khartoum North and Khartoum.

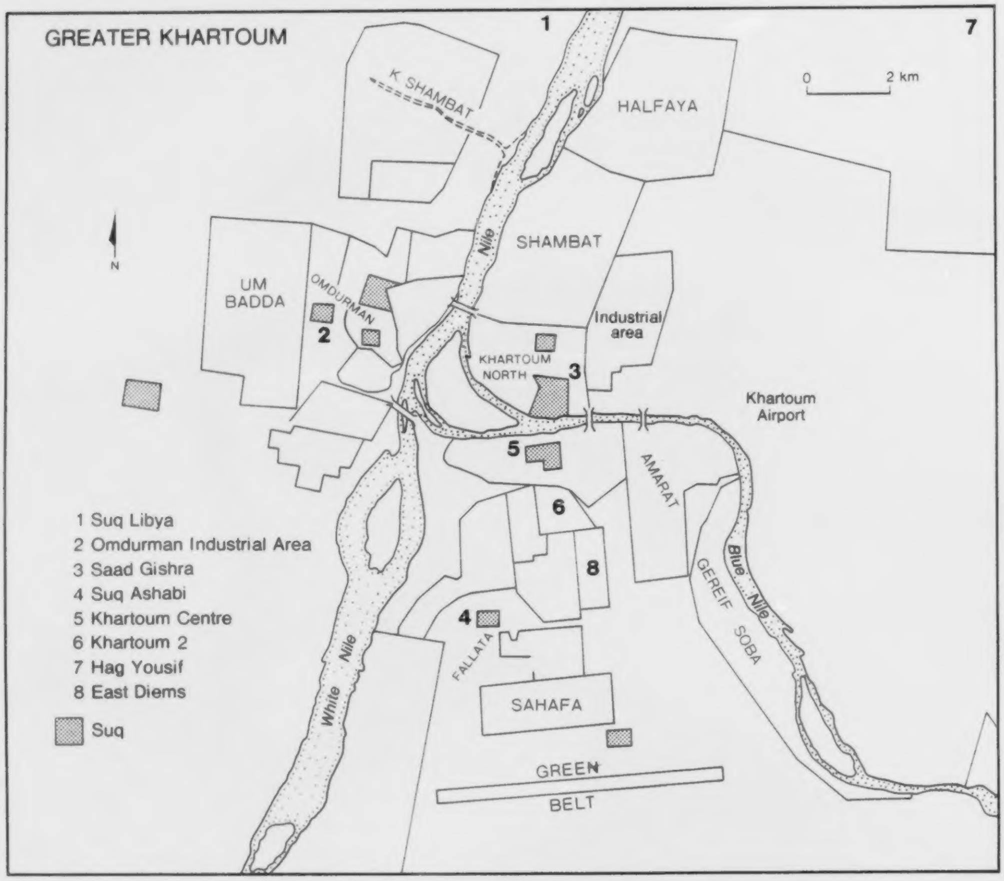
1.1 Women food seller at Hag Yousif.

Plate 1.2 Equipment used by the women food sellers


THE SUDAN
EGYPT
LIBYA
Red Sea
Wadi Halfa
NORTHERN
RED SEA
20°
Port Sudan
Dongola
Nile
Khartoum North
Omdurman
Khartoum
KASSALA
Kassala
CHAD
DARFUR
15°
Wad Medani
Gedaref
El Fasher
KORDOFAN
El Obeid
BLUE NILE
Blue Nile
10°
Bahr al-Arab
Malakal
Bahr (White Nile) al-Jabal
Baro
ETHEOPIA
AL-GHAZAL
UPPER NILE
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC
Wau
Pibor
Map area
5°
EQUATORIA
Juba
AFRICA
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO
KENYA
0
200 km
UGANDA
25°
30°
35°

Source: Modified from Population and Developmentin the Sudan: A Quest for a National Policy. Saghayroun et al., (eds). 1988.

Figure 1.1 Map of Sudan


GREATER KHARTOUM
1
7
0
2 km
N
K SHAMBAT
HALFAYA
SHAMBAT
Nile
UM BADDA
OMDURMAN
2
Industrial area
KHARTOUM NORTH
3
Khartoum Airport
5
AMARAT
6
8
4
Blue Nile
GEREIF
SOBA
FALLATA
SAHAFA
White Nile
GREEN
BELT
1 Suq Libya
2 Omdurman Industrial Area
3 Saad Gishra
4 Suq Ashabi
5 Khartoum Centre
6 Khartoum 2
7 Hag Yousif
8 East Diems
▨ Suq

Source: Modified from Freigoon, N.M. 1989.

Figure 1.2 Eight Study Areas

means to support themselves and their families. Feminist geography, because of its perceptual focus on women as active agents of creation and change within their human and physical environments, provides a unique conceptual framework for the documentation and analysis of the women food sellers. It is recognized that by documenting the realities of women worldwide, a greater understanding and sensitivity towards women; how women are coping with complex patterns of time and space within cultural and social contexts which often negate and penalize women once out of the accepted realm of the home and family can be arrived at. Specifically the objectives of this thesis are to:

(1) To determine whether the case study of the food sellers can contribute to the field of feminist geography. Research on the food sellers in Khartoum provides a valuable opportunity to explore the gendered-environments of one population of Third World women and to examine the contributions that this study can make to feminist geography.

(2) To document the characteristics of the food selling activity and the women food sellers in Khartoum as one example of the many types of invisible activities women are engaged in in the informal sector of developing countries in order to survive.

(3) To analyze the social, economic and political situation with respect to the food sellers to determine

how their activities:

i. contribute to the informal sector and economic system in Khartoum;

ii. are affected by government policy in regards to the informal sector; and

iii. impact upon the social structure and family life and the overall quality of life for the women.

1.4 Thesis Outline

Following this brief introductory chapter, this thesis is divided into six major parts. In the second chapter, the theoretical framework of the thesis will be described. This framework will address the basic tenants of feminism, development and "women in development" followed by a description of the evolution of these concepts into a global perspective of women. The theory of feminist geography will then be introduced with an emphasis on the major themes which serve to operationalize the discipline. The relationship and the problematic dialogue between feminist geography, as part of a Western based feminist perspective, and the case study of the women food sellers, as part of the Third World experience will also be discussed.

The third chapter comprises an overview of the geographical background of the Sudan including population trends within a context of sustainable development, conditions of rapid urbanization, squatter settlements and growth of the informal sector.

Chapter Four will be dedicated to describing the overall status of women in Sudanese society and of their participation in the informal sector.

Chapter Five covers the data collection techniques used in the case study. Underlying the chosen research methods was an ideological commitment to a research approach which would be as truthful, representative and accountable to the women food sellers as possible. The motivation for, and the difficulties experienced in following, this commitment will be discussed.

Chapter Six will present the findings of the field research. The findings will be divided into four major parts and will relate to the promary goal and stated objectives of the thesis.

(1) Documention of the personal characteristics of the women food sellers;

(2) Description of the basic economic, spatial and temporal, and problematic aspects of the food selling activity;

(3) Description of the relationship between the women and their social environment; and

(4) Discussion of the government policy and political context of the food selling activity.

Chapter Seven will present a discussion of the study of the women food sellers both within the frameworks of feminist geography and the informal sector.

2.0 THE THEORY: FEMINIST GEOGRAPHY

2.1 Introduction

The primary objective of this thesis is to contribute to and expand on the field of feminist geography. This chapter will attempt to describe feminist geography and its relevance to the case study of women food sellers in Khartoum. In order to fully understand feminist geography, however, it is first necessary to understand the basis on which it rests; that of the theories of feminism, and of "women in development".

2.2 Feminism, Development and Women in Development

2.2.1 Feminist Perspectives

Feminism and the Women's Liberation Movement has still not gained the kind of mainstream acceptance or status that other movements such as the peace movement or the environmental movement have. Phrases such as "oh not that feminist stuff" and "I'm not a feminist but.." are still commonly heard in discussions between women and men, and women and women. Mies (1986) speculates that the reason for this resistance is because the women's movement does not address its demands to some external agency, ie. capitalists, government, or multinational corporations, but rather to people in their most intimate human relations; between women and men. She writes that therefore, the battle does not occur with the enemy, but between and within women and men; husbands and wives, fathers and daughters. She writes that most women and men try and avoid such confrontations because if they allow themselves to become aware of the true nature of women-man relationships, the last island of peace, the last space where harmony and love survives in a brutal world of competition, power and backstabbing politics, will be destroyed.

> Moreover, if they allow this issue to enter their consciousness, they will have to admit that they themselves, women and men, are not only victims, ..., but they are accomplices in the system of exploitation and oppression that binds women and men together. And that, if they want to come to a truly free human relationship, they will have to give up their complicity. This is not only true for men whose privileges are based on this system, but also for women whose material existence is often bound up with it. Feminists are those who dare to break the conspiracy of silence about the oppressive, unequal man-woman relationship and who want to change it (p.6).

Speaking up about male dominance, and giving it names such as patriarchy and sexism, Mies continues, has led to greater and greater resistance. Despite this resistance, an incredible number and variety of feminist perspectives have developed in both Western and developing countries. Because all of these perspectives represent a woman's, or a group of women's experiences of the world, and carry with them a wealth of reflection, anger, and radical re-evaluations of societal value systems, all such perspectives are part of, and define feminism. Therefore it is not easy to offer a single definition of feminism.

In many feminist works, feminist perspectives have been divided into three general categories: liberal, leftist and radical; each incorporating distinct philosophical, theoretical, political, methodological and pragmatic assumptions and solutions for change (Henderson 1990). While liberal feminists feel that women can gain equality within the present system and are concerned with documenting and lessening the barriers which prevent women from gaining equality, leftist feminists believe that major changes within the social institutions related to the production of goods and services must occur before women can gain equality. Radical feminists, by contrast, believe that nothing short of removing male power and the patriarchal system that upholds men's power, will bring about the equality and freedom of women (Henderson 1990; Women and Study Group 1984; Wilson 1982). Regardless of perspective, it is generally agreed that feminists as a whole are committed to three major goals: (1) the correction of both the invisibility and distortion of the female experience in ways relevant to social change; (2) the right of every woman to equity, dignity and freedom of choice through the power to control her own life and body within and outside of the home; and (3) the removal of all forms of inequality and oppression in society (Henderson 1990).

However, these perspectives have themselves been criticized by women and feminists for not being representative and not validating all women's experiences of oppression. Such criticisms have shown that the feminist movement has been almost entirely grounded within a white, middle-class experience. Thus, feminists such as Bell Hooks (1984), Audrey Lorde (1984) and Angela Davis (1983) to name just a few, have brought forward a feminism which validates the poor black woman's experiences in a racist, sexist, and classist North American society, and by extension, the global system of white-male domination. "Black feminism" seeks to explain why white women, who call themselves feminist, dedicated to ending all forms of oppression, still act on racist ideas about the lives of black women and men, or "people of colour". Inherent in this perspective is an analysis of domination and power, whereby the differences between people are used to uphold and justify power relations of one over the "other". By "owning up" to their own acts of domination and control over women and men within a North American context an understanding of the hegemonic nature of the dialogue between Western and Third World women can be arrived at. Only then will a truly global perspective of feminism be achieved. Thus, it is this feminist perspective which holds the most potential for bridging the gap between First and Third World women.

2.2.2 Development Theory and Women in Development

Within the field of development, many widely diverging theories and concepts of development exist. "Development", in the formal sense of the process of transfer of aid to developing countries, can be seen to have begun essentially in the late 1950's and early 1960's when the First UN Development Decade was called. At this time, development theories were heavily influenced by the Western industrialization experience. Most economists allied themselves with the "stages of economic growth model" (Rostow 1960) in which economic development was seen to be a necessary and inevitable consequence of the spread of monetised relations, the growth of the market economy and the expansion of international trading links. Economic prescriptions for change became written in stone and such things as foreign exchange, modern technology, industrialization, skilled labour, management expertise, infrastructure and capital formation were considered to be the most salient components missing in the development process of Third World countries (Ginzberg 1966). It was assumed that once these constraints were overcome, natural market forces would propel Third World countries through a series of development stages towards a level of development equal to Western countries. Development, defined as economic growth, was measured solely by a county's gross national product. Development strategies focused on the transfer of technology and expertise to aid developing countries in the push for greater economic growth. Thus the "modernisation theory" of development flourished.

However, by the late 1960's this strategy for development had proved to be inadequate. Despite phenomenal growth rates in a few countries of 5% per annum, many other trends within the countries: rapid population increase, high infant mortality rates, low literacy rates, massive growth of squatter settlements and severe under- and unemployment, to name just a few, indicated that development, defined as an increased welfare of the people, was not being achieved. It became apparent that the relationship between economic growth and development was not a simple linear one and that GNP could no longer be used as the sole indicator of development.

At this stage, while many Western development theorists blamed the poor showing of economic growth on the population explosion occurring in most developing countries, emerging development theorists from developing countries retaliated by saying that the population explosion was the result of underdevelopment and poor economic performance rather than a cause. Thus, development strategies began to be concerned with increasing food output to meet basic human needs.

During this development decade, interest on women in the development process focused solely on their reproductive capabilities. Large numbers of family planning and population control programmes were generated and targeted primarily at women and girls. In addition, home economic projects were designed to enhance their domestic capabilities as wives and mothers. No perspective about the role of women as agents of economic change was considered until Ester Boserup published her book, Women's Role in Economic Development (1970). Notions about the importance of collecting information about the contributions of women in economic and social development then began to emerge.

The 1970's marked a major turn around in development theory. It was at this time that the "group of seventy seven" (of developing countries) called attention to inequalities of the international economic order. They called for a "New International Economic Order" (NIEO) which aimed at giving Third World countries a fair share of the world's resources, creating fairer trading patterns and giving them more equitable participation in international decision making. It was emphasized that only when Third World countries had reduced their dependency on First World countries could Third World countries even attempt to reach a level of development on par with developed nations. Thus the "dependency theory" emerged to dispute the ability of the modernization theory to both represent the reality of the historical background of Third World countries and the strategies that needed to be employed to enable Third World countries to develop (Karl 1984; Ul Huq 1983).

This democratization of development theory was paralleled by a transition within the conceptualization about women in development. The increasing recognition of the importance of linking development with people instead of just economic growth and the concurrent focus of development strategies on meeting the basic needs of the people, combined with an increasing awareness of feminism in Western countries brought about the concept of "integrating women into the development process" (Mies 1986; Rogers 1980). Questions were asked such as "who are the poor?", and "who are responsible for meeting the basic needs of families?". Though very little information existed about women in developing countries, what did exist showed that women, because of their role in the family, were central to this need of linking economic development with human and social development. As more information was collected, however, it became apparent that many well-meaning development projects had very mixed and in many cases, very detrimental consequences for women (Nelson 1979: Rogers 1980; Anand 1984; Papenek 1984). Based on Western assumptions about the role for women in the family and household and the nature of female-male economic and social relations, it was shown that far from increasing women's welfare, many projects were actually undermining it. In many cases men benefited greatly from development assistance, but because of the reality of unequal relations between women and men within the household, this was often taken at the cost of women's access to, and control over, scarce resources. The overall conclusion reached within women in development theory thus was that the majority of women's work was not being recognised as an integral part of national economic and social development and that in consequence, women were being neglected by governments, planners and development theorists and practitioners (Anand 1984; Roodkowsky 1984; Karl 1984).

The First UN Decade for Women began in 1975. Since then, at both the national and international levels, women's role in development or "WID" has become an increasingly significant part of development theory. Central to the WID approach are two main concepts: (1) that women should be a priority in development strategies because they encompass half of all humanity; and (2) that because of women's roles as mothers, wives, nurturers of the family, and important actors of community development, women are an untapped human resource that could be utilized for greater economic and social development. Therefore to pursue a development strategy without a women in development focus would be futile (Nelson 1979).

Within WID, a number of approaches in the pursuit of overall strengthening of women's conditions have been utilized. These include the welfare approach and the anti-poverty approach. Both approaches generally focus on strengthening the ways that women contribute to society in their traditional roles as wives and mothers, and in their capacity as caretakers of scarce resources within conditions of abject poverty. Development projects are thus designed within the underlying motivation of helping the whole (community) through the use of women's traditional roles and capabilities (Anand 1984).

These approaches, however, do not address the feminist issue, which attempts to examine the roots of women's marginalization within a pervasive structural and institutionalized system of male dominance and the subordinate position women hold in every society (Anand 1984). The feminist model involves developing a concept of gender and examining how gender relations shift with changing economic relations. The feminist model of women in development is thus based on an understanding of how political, economic, social and cultural systems, all of which are underlain by a patriarchy of male-domination, create and perpetuate the oppression of both women and men. It is understood that while piecemeal efforts of "women in development" projects may alleviate some of the symptoms of this oppression, the real solution lies in radically changing wider political, economic and social structures.

A key analysis within this feminist model of WID is that of the hypocrisy apparent between present models of economic development and that of human and social development. At the forefront of this analysis, at least in the Western world, are Barbara Rogers (1980) and Marilyn Waring (1988) who both see that the necessary path of development, the eradication of poverty and indeed the future of the world depends to a large extent on wholesale changes to societal dependency and adherence to a economic system which discounts, undervalues and ignores the value of (1) women's unpaid labour, (2) the environment and (3) the informal sector. Waring, once Member of the New Zealand Parliament and Chair of the Public

Expenditure Select Committee, writes:

> At one point in my tenure as Chair, new Zealand revised its system of national Accounts in accordance with changes suggested by the United Nations. It was then that I underwent a rude awakening as to the importance of the United Nations Systems of Accounts (UNSNA). I learned that....a pollution free environment, safe drinking water,...were not accounted for in private consumption expenditure, general government expenditure, or gross domestic capital formation. Yet these accounting systems were used to undermine all public policy. Since the environment counted for nothing, there could be no "value"on policy measures that would ensure its preservation. Hand in hand with the dismissal of the environment, came evidence of the severe invisibility of women and women's work...."Non-producers" (housewives, mothers) who are "inactive" and "unoccupied" cannot, apparently be in need (of social services) (p.2).

The UNSNA is used by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the United Nations agencies, and national governments for a incredible number of purposes, all of which underlie policies, planning and programmes which eventually affect the lives of the poorest of the poor, women and children. For example, while UNSNA is used by aid donors to identify deserving recipients (need being defined as per capita income), it is also used by multinational corporations to locate new areas for overseas investments (under the assumption that lower per capita incomes manifests itself as lower overhead costs). The UNSNA is also used to "balance the accounts" of Third World nations which owe increasing amounts of money to First World governments, multinational banks and multinational agencies. Those lending organizations now require all lendees to acquire the national accounting system so that the cash generating capacity of that country can be quantified (and held for ransom) by the lender. These lenders are not interested in seeing the productive capacity of the country, just in how much cash they can produce to pay back their loans. In this framework, the productive (and reproductive) capacity of women, children, and the environment are inherently of no value. In aid programs, the definition of women as "non-producers" or as less productive as men, means that women are denied access to extension services, technology, and financial resources (Waring 1988). It is assumed that women will be taken care of by their husbands and fathers. It is never considered that women are equally or primarily responsible for their families' well-being or that women are, in increasing numbers becoming head-of-households. Women are only targeted for aid in the framework of maternal and child health or nutrition programs.

Another key analysis within women in development and feminism focuses on the international political system. En Loe's book Bananas, Beaches and Bases (1989) attempts to show how international politics really works by exposing the underlying context of men's control and power over women within international politics. She writes:

> Conventionally both masculinity and femininity have been treated as "natural" and not created. Today, however, there is mounting evidence that they are packages of expectations that have been created through specific decisions by specific people. We are coming to realize that the traditional concepts of masculinity and femininity have been surprisingly hard to perpetuate; it has required the daily exercise of power - domestic power, national power, and international power.... (Enloe 1989, p.3)

and

> Women's experiences of war, marriage, trade, factory work- are relegated to the "human interest" column. Women's roles in creating and sustaining international politics have been treated as if they were "natural" and thus not worthy of investigation. Consequently, how the conduct of international politics has depended on men's control of women has been left unexamined. (Enloe 1989, p.4)

Speculations about what international politics would look like if dominated by women rather than men have been forthcoming from a few feminist analyses (En Loe 1989; Jayawardena 1986; Huston et al 1985). Some feminist believe that there is a fundamental difference between women and men and that once women do not have to become "harder than men", for example, a Margaret Thatcher, to obtain the respect of male colleagues and the general population, that female politicians will change the face of international politics.

However, such speculation about the fundamental personalities of women and men serves to weaken the feminist analysis of international politics because of its tendency to bring the argument back into the realm of biological determinism which, has traditionally, been used to show women's incapacity for certain roles, activities and jobs. What is more at stake in the feminist analysis of international politics is the need to bring a gender analysis into the heart of the politics and to show how male domination within politics is not just a natural state of being, but rather a result of a "man-made and man-controlled" distribution of power throughout the world. This distribution of power has been perpetuated by the ability to keep "others" (women, poor, ethnic groups) without power (En Loe 1989; Hooks 1984).

Feminist analyses have now ventured into nearly every stream of thought, experience and realm of life. Every culture and social system which perpetuates women's oppression and exploitation has been reconceptualized to ensure that the realities of women's experiences are recognized and that the foundation of women's conditions rests on unequal relations between women and men, women and the state and women and the international systems of economics and politics. The need to change the nature of both the personal and the political context of women's lives to attain equality and freedom from oppression has been recognized.

2.2.3 Feminism and Women in Development

Relations between the feminist movement and Women in Development, often represented as the relationship between First and Third World women, has been one which has suffered from a lack of communication and many misunderstandings. The feminist movement as a whole has tended to look only at issues which affected women in industrialized countries and saw development as being an issue of concern for the distant Third World. The word feminism was used as a description for Western women, a bourgeois set of women who hated men (Mies 1986). Third World women feared that association with feminists would sidetrack issues which were of the most concern for them in favour of tackling the "luxury" issues of First World women.

However, as more and more international conferences were held, giving First and Third world women the opportunities to discuss the many difficulties that women were facing, a global perspective about the oppressive and exploitive nature of women-men relations and the structures and institutions which supported these relations, both directly and indirectly, gradually emerged. In 1980, "Developing Strategies for the Future: Feminist Perspectives", a document written by both Third and First World women, emphasizing a common understanding of feminist ideology, was published. Since then, women from numerous Third World countries have called themselves feminist and a proliferation of feminist grassroots organizations throughout the developing world have emerged to confront specific local issues. Parallel to this grassroots, social and political activist movement has been the emergence of women's studies. Numerous research centres have been created in developing countries with the aim of introducing and integrating the "woman's component" into the social sciences (Mies 1986).

The emergence of a feminist perspective in the developing world has been paralleled by the integration of "women in development" into the feminist movement in First World countries. From being a movement involving largely white, middle-class women, Western feminism has been tremendously strengthened and radically changed by the perspectives of women of colour within the Western context, and women from the Third World. Increasingly, feminists from around the world are calling attention to their conditions of poverty, oppression, and exploitation and increasingly, the connection between all women under unequal and exploitive political, economic, cultural and social systems is being used as the focus of analysis for understanding and denouncing these conditions.

The mergence of feminism and women and development theory has, however, faced much criticism. It has been criticized as being a perspective based in an essentially white, middle-class background whose adherents have had the luxury of both time and money to development a feminist (read inappropriate) view of what is best for women in developing countries (Sandhu 1971). Tinker and Bramsen (1976) write that "while the privileged women in the Third World have become aware of such a concept of equality,... full equality may not seem nearly as important to the rural women as the possibility of access to the basic needs of life" (p.5). Thus, WID has been criticized as being an inappropriate and imposed perspective about the needs and lives of women in Third World countries.

Mohanty (1988) focuses on this issue of the appropriateness of Western feminist discourse on women in the Third World. She writes that many feminist writings have "colonized the material and historical heterogenities of the lives of women in the Third World, thereby producing/representing a composite, singular `third-world-woman' - an image which appears arbitrarily constructed but nevertheless carries with it the authorizing signature of western humanist discourse" (p.5). She suggests that most Western feminist scholarship on Third World women are as uninformed and thereby as oppressive to Third World women as traditional male or patriarchal concepts of the "third world difference". It is with this creation of the "other", she writes that "western feminists appropriate and colonize the constitutive complexities which characterize the lives of women in these countries... and it is this process of discursive homogenization and systematization of the oppression of women in the third world that power is exercised..." (p.6). This power, she writes is part of the overall balance of power of the First World over the Third World. She acknowledges that within the context of overwhelming silence about the lives of women in Third World countries, and the need to forge international links between women's political struggles, these feminist works are both pathbreaking and essential. However, she argues that the explanatory potential of the particular analytical strategies employed by these writings, and by implication, the political effect of these writings is what must be questioned. She argues that Western writing on the Third World must be considered within the context of global hegemony of western scholarship. Thus, Western feminists must be accountable to the political implications of their analyses and writings.

Others (Davies 1990; Mies 1986) have also addressed this issue of hegemonic relationships between First and Third World women within the context of scholarship and research. Davies writes that before women in the First World can even think about research in the Third World, the dilemma of ethnocentrism needs to be addressed. Ethnocentrism, she says, is a perennial problem of the First World academic defining others' problems for them. Even if the case for a universal oppression of women could be agreed on, Davies argues that the women themselves may not necessarily agree on the roots of their oppression, nor welcome any well-meaning attempts by richer women to research their subordination. Thus, there are grave doubts about the export of Western feminism and whether or not it addresses the fundamental issues of poverty or the North-South divide. Davies (1990) quotes a Nigerian participant of the 1975 Mexico World Conference to indicate the increasingly verbalized views of Third World women.

> It is presumptuous for anyone to presume that women of the Third World are unable to articulate their own outrage at any issue that concerns them. As a member of the Third World, I repudiate this patronizing and particularly the underlying intellectual imperialism. Women in the Third World do not need any more champions. We are bored and tired of any more Great White Hopes (p.1).

Early responses to this criticism were based on a need to call attention to the insecurities of "traditional" (read male and gender-blind) development theorists. Mies (1986) writes:

> Women in development is not just another issue to be dealt with - it very often touches on BASIC VALUE systems which affect officials in their personal as well as their professional lives (p.2)

Thus, she says, traditional development agents may feel personally defensive about the views and assumptions they have taken in regard to women's roles in developing countries, and which have underlain the design of programs and projects they have advocated. March & Taggu (1986) similarly write that the sexist biases and cultural, gender-based attitudes of discrimination are extremely deep-rooted and that "development workers that are unable to see or recognize the importance of women's work in their own home context are unlikely to be able to work with women overseas" (p. 10).

As can be seen, these responses have been directed towards men who, it was seen, were threatened by perspectives which generated questions about the fundamental nature of their own personal lives and relationships. However, criticism against the hegemonic nature of Western feminist work towards women of the Third World has been a much harder one to refute. Even within the North American context, the experiences, thoughts and writings of "black" feminists have been marginalized or appropriated in lip-service inclusions by liberal (white) feminists (Hooks 1984; Lorde 1984; Anzaldua & Moraga 1981).

There is, therefore, a need to address this issue of the nature of the relationship between First and Third World women with respect to how Western women, in the race to expose the universality of gender oppression, may have imposed Western feminist thinking, analytical frameworks and conclusions on the Third World women "other". Whether or not a feminist geographical perspective can address this issue is a primary concern of this thesis.

2.3 Feminist Geography

Feminist geography seeks to bring out a feminist perspective in the traditional realm of social geography. Feminist geography, is concerned with uncovering and changing the geographical depiction of humanity and the agents of creation and change in the environment as totally male i.e., "man" and the environment. Feminist geographers, have to date focused on four major themes (Women and Geography Study Group 1984), but the discipline is constantly expanding. The aim of this thesis is to contribute to this growing body of feminist geography by attempting to tie together women's experiences and environments across cultural, social and national lines. It is speculated that feminist geography, because of its focus on spatial and temporal relationships between humans and the environment, can serve as an analytical framework to compare the vastly different national, cultural and social environments that women live and work within across the world. Following is a review of the discipline of feminist geography and of the major directions that feminist geography has taken.

2.3.1 Introduction

Feminist analyses seek to examine the differences of power, social position, attitudes and behaviours between women and men, to put theories forward which will account for these differences and then to strategize ways in which current practices within society can be changed to allow women to participate in society to their full potential and on equal terms with men. Historically feminists have worked within the social, political and economic spheres of life, fighting for political representation, for equal opportunity in education, work and wages, and for the rights to reproductive freedom. A strong feminist analysis within academia, though perhaps not as visible, has also been in evidence for some time; some disciplines such as sociology and psychology having a much longer tradition than geography has had. Regardless of discipline, feminist analyses have called attention to the universal invisibility of women and the misrepresentation of women in research studies.

Two reasons have been used to explain these faults in academic research. First, there has been a marked predominance of men working as academic staff. Due to long standing sex-role socialization, such individuals have been inherently endowed with liberal doses of sexist attitudes and perspectives of the world and what they see as being important processes within the interaction between "man" and the environment. Thus, and this brings us to the second reason, geographers, either consciously and actively or unconsciously and inadvertently have excluded women in empirical studies and have overlooked the fact that women and men have very different interactions with the environment (Tivers 1978; Monk & Hansen 1982; Hayford 1973; Momsen & Townsend 1987; Women and Geography Study Group 1984).

Feminist geography seeks to redress the absence of women from the geographical analysis. The presence of women has traditionally been submerged within limited realms of geography such as consumer behaviour in economic geography or fertility patterns in population geography. Women have only been studied in their roles as mothers and housewives, responsible for shopping and other domestic (read less important) activities. Hayford (1973) argues that although geographers recognize the existence of women, they make little effort to investigate the role they play in society.

From these inadequacies within geography, and due to extensive economic and social restructuring in the real world, in particular the women's movement, but also the movement towards general class, race and material equality (human materialism), feminist geography was born. The Women and Geography Study Group (1984) write:

> The vast preponderance of full-time male academics in geography departments in institutions of further and higher education, therefore, both reflects and perpetuates a pattern of social relations which are male-dominated. This brings us back to the first of our original points - why should geographers be concerned about the gender structure of society? The answer to this question is not only political. In recent years geographers have become active in research into questions of societal inequality based on class, income or race, not only because of a growing belief in the need to expose injustice and work towards a better and fairer future, but also because of the importance of an accurate analysis of human geographical phenomena for the development of our understanding of society and space. We cannot interpret human behaviour unless we take into account all the societal patterns and structures which exist. The same is clearly true of a feminist perspective in geography (p. 23).

Two key ideas serve to structure the feminist geographical analysis. One, feminist research in geography is not just about women. Rather, it is about the ways in which gender forms an essential parameter of human environmental relations (Mackenzie, 1989) where "human" is not considered to be "man" but both female and male. Second, feminist research in geography is not just an empirical study. Rather, it is a process of methodological and conceptual rectification as well as one of addressing new empirical questions. In order for geography to reconstruct human-environmental relations, the social, economic and political construction of gender categories must be recognized, and also accepted that these categories are not immutable, but can be changed by political, social and economic processes. Feminist geography also sees the environment as a political and social creation which, in a process of human-environment interaction, changes. Thus, a feminist analysis in geography views gender as a space-structuring force where "the environment becomes a component of gender constitution and where the link between "human" and "environment" is the active use of space which simultaneously alters gender and alters the social environment" (Mackenzie, 1989, p. 45).

2.3.2 A Definition

A definition of feminist geography may be given as:

> "Feminist geography seeks to provide an analysis of the changes which are occurring in the interaction between women's actions (based on "new roles") and the spatial environment. It is a geography which takes into account the socially created gender structure of society, in which a commitment both towards the alleviation of gender equality in the short term and towards its removal, through social change towards real equality, in the longer term, is expressed" (Women and Geography Study Group 1984, p. 21)

2.3.3 Feminist Geography Themes

A number of themes exist within the feminist geography literature which serve as an operational definition of what a feminist analysis in geography is in terms of how gender roles underlie the differences in spatial behaviour of women and men. These themes have been derived from various feminist geographical writings (Bowlby, Foord & Mackenzie 1981; Hayford 1973; Mackenzie 1989; McDowell 1983; Monk & Hanson 1982; Palm & Pred 1978; Tivers 1978; Women and Geography Study Group 1984) and include the following:

1. Women have historically endured the isolation and powerlessness of the private sphere of the home and family while men have taken advantage of the power relationships within the public sphere of economic and political work, as well as enjoyed the privacy and nurturance of family life within the private sphere. Attempts by women to enter the public sphere have been met with resistance by men, manifested in institutional and attitudinal barriers such as sexual harassment, non-equal pay, lack of maternity leave and daycare, the "glass ceiling", etc.
2. More and more women have entered the labour force as wage labourers, and less than 5% of families in the Western world now live in the traditional family or one male breadwinner, a dependent housewife and 2 children. Yet this change in women's employment has gone largely unnoticed by traditional geographical analyses concerned with spatial patterns such as industrial location and

economic, regional and urban planning. Such analyses have stubbornly maintained assumptions that women are primarily mothers and housewives and do not contribute to mobility and transportation patterns within the city or region. Even more significantly, what has gone unnoticed has been the fact that increases in female labour force have been comprised of a majority of married women with young children, who now carry the double burden of work and home. Large entries of women into the labour force have important implications for the needs and aspirations of the labour force. Women's needs for childcare facilities and maternal leave are seen as priority demands for better working conditions. Women's rights to equal pay are seen as threatening to the age old practice of men's rights to a "family wage" (enough to support a wife and family). In short, traditional regional analyses which have looked at inequalities of employment and income, as well as working conditions have, in the past concentrated solely on class and racial or ethnic divisions and completely ignored gender based divisions which cut across all classes of wealth, income and race.

3. The private sphere and the work which goes on in maintaining the home and family is considered to be inferior to that work which is accomplished outside the home in the paid labour force or public sphere. Yet, a great deal of time and importance is placed on family

life and the home as place of rest and relaxation by both men and women who work outside the home. Simultaneously, it is the women who carry the bulk of the burden in maintaining and managing the home as the safe haven for the family. Studies have shown that very little increase has taken place in the amount of time men contribute to domestic chores within the home, despite huge increases of women entering the labour force.

4. Control over the reproductive capacities of women by men (radical feminism) and by the state and class (socialist feminism) has been used to constrain women from being able to utilize their productive capacity in the public sphere as equally as men.
5. The spatial structure of the city has developed from a pattern of (1) state, class and male control over the means of production of goods and services and (2) from the needs of workers to "get away" from the demands of work. However, the male-biased nature of this spatial separation of work and home becomes apparent when work is redefined to include work done by women in the maintenance of the home and family.
6. The very work/home separation that women and men fought for in the early stages of the 20th century now works to the detriment of women trying to juggle the dual roles of paid work and home work. Such women often have complex daily schedules and problems dealing with childcare,

husbandcare, work schedules (time off), distance to work, mode of transportation, shopping difficulties and basically just not enough time to do both jobs and cope with personal needs of time and space. Women's access to services and facilities have been shown to be much more limited than that of men due to differences between women's and men's mobility, time constraints and access to information which are themselves related to wide disparities in women's and men's economic, political and social power. A lack of knowledge about gender based restrictions have been built into the system of service provision and add to the difficulties women face in coping with double burdens of work and family.

7. Traditional geography, in studying social relations and behaviours within the urban setting, has used the household unit as the primary indicator of spatial relationships being created by human behaviour. Inherent in the use of the household unit are assumptions about the makeup of family roles, ie that the household included one primary breadwinner, assumed to be male, one dependent housewife, and a number of children, each going about their spatial behaviours. The fact that: (1) this household model applied only to the white, middle class sample of population, excluding the social realities of non-white and/or lower class populations; (2) even then, this model could not be generalized to all white and

middle class populations where women were already working outside the home and whose incomes represented significant contributions to the family income; (3) single parent families were excluded totally from geographical analysis; and (4) that statistics now show that 85% of all households (in Canada) are being run on two incomes, were simply ignored by traditional geographical research. In doing this, geography lost its ability to be a discipline which seeks to provide an accurate analysis of human interaction with the environment through time and space.

8. A more accurate study of human spatial interaction then, will necessarily include the social realities of all people, based on each individual's role and function in life rather than on an assumed nature of their roles. Attention must also be paid to the creation and utilization of methodologies which will allow geographers to capture the full complexities of individual lives so that future models or generalizations of spatial behaviour are not based on inaccurate and incomplete information about human behaviour. Factors of gender, class and culture cannot be excluded from this geographical analysis.

The Women and Geography Study Group of the Institute of British Geographers have grouped the ideas encompassed within these seven themes into four main study areas which they specify as:

1. Urban spatial structure;
2. Women's employment, industrial location and regional change;
3. Access to facilities; and
4. Women and development.

The area which is little developed within the feminist geography literature is the last area of women and development. Only the Women and Study Group (1984) and Momsen & Townsend (1987) document Third World women-environments, but as yet, very little conceptualization of Third World women's spaces, and the similarities between First and Third World women has been included in the feminist geography analysis. In this study area, the invisibility of women is again highlighted, and the problem of Western male stereotypes transposed to Third World environments and the obscuring of women's contributions to the development process discussed. The negative impacts that development projects have had on Third World women, and the need for development agents to pay more attention to crucial design factors such as the local gender division of labour, the political structure of village life and the needs of women as opposed to just those of men are called attention to. However, very little thought is given to the relationship between First World women and Third. Are Third World women a foreign and strange population who live somewhere on the fringes of society? Do they live in such different environments, and cope with such different gender relations that they are somehow separable from the geographical lives of First World women? Do not women in the Third World experience the same time and space constraints, lack of mobility, access to information, and lesser economic and social power than men that women in the First World do? Thus, can the realities of Third World women not somehow be brought into, and add to the discoveries made within the field of feminist geography? It is to these questions that this thesis addresses.

2.3.4. Women in Development, Feminist Geography and Women Food Sellers in Khartoum

As stated in the first chapter of this thesis, one of the objectives of this thesis will be to contribute to, and expand, the conceptual and empirical knowledge base within the field of feminist geography. Currently feminist geography is very much limited to a First World, largely white, middle class perspective. Research on the food sellers in Khartoum provides a valuable opportunity to explore whether Third World women experience the same types of gendered spatial and temporal constraints as women in the First World, and implications that such a universality has for feminist geography.

3.0 THE SUDAN: AN OVERVIEW

3.1 Introduction

In order to give the reader a background of the environmental, economic and political conditions that the women food sellers' cope with, a brief overview of the Sudan shall be given. The general geography of the country, its population and demographic characteristics, and the conditions of development within a context of severe environmental degradation shall be described.

3.2 Background

The Republic of Sudan (Figure 1.1) occupies a land area of 2,505,813 square kilometres and can be described as being a vast and relatively flat plain which has as its main feature, the Nile basin and its tributaries. It is normally thought of being a country of two distinct peoples, the Northern Arab and the Southern Black African, and historically has been administered as such, with separate economic and political systems. However, extensive intermarriage between the two peoples has resulted in "...every conceivable degree of admixture between the "Brown and the Negro" and the absence of a culture which can be described as purely Arab and Moslem" (Beshir 1968, p.5).

Though there are 10 provinces and two main regions, the country can be divided into three climatic areas. The northern part, from the Egyptian border to just north of

Khartoum, consists of desert and semi-desert areas and is largely uninhabited except along the banks of the Nile and along the eastern border with Ethiopia. The central part of the Sudan possesses semi-desert and savannah conditions with a rainfall average sufficient for highly productive agricultural activities. This area is populated by both sedentary agriculturalists and nomadic and semi-nomadic livestock herders and is the location for the country's cash crop, irrigated and mechanized agricultural (sugar and cotton) schemes as well as for the gum arabic cash crop of Darfur and Kordofan. The southern part of the Sudan lies within the tropics and has a mean annual rainfall of 1500 mm in the extreme south. The area has a high potential for agricultural productivity, but has only managed to maintain, due to many political and economic reasons, a culture of subsistence, extremely vulnerable to famine.

The overriding political concern in the Sudan is the civil war between the South and North. At the time of independence (1956), full Islamic (Sharia) law was imposed on the entire country. The largely Christian and/or animistic Southerners objected to, among other things, the imposition of Islamic taxation and strict Islamic penal codes, the presence of Northern administrative officers and traders, and the use of Arabic as the sole official language (Said 1965). The Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) has engaged in intense guerilla-type warfare in protest of these conditions since Independence. More stable political conditions were achieved only when the Neimeri government conceded a level of political autonomy to the three southern provinces between 1972 and 1983. However, since 1983, and with the instalment of the current fundamentalist Islamic government of Lt. General Omer Hassan El Bashir in 1989, civil war continues.

The economic situation in the Sudan is steadily worsening. According to World Bank estimates, the per capita GNP for the Sudan, in 1985-1987 was 330 US$. Between 1980 and 1987 it was estimated that the per capita GNP declined in real terms (at 1985-87 average prices), at an average rate of 4% per year. Average annual total growth of the country's economy declined to 0.3% between 1980 and 1986 (Europa World Yearbook, 1989).

3.3 Population Trends, the Environment and Development

Even though the Sudan, with its vast area and relatively small population, cannot be considered to be overpopulated in the general sense of the term, it does suffer from an intense concentration of population in the country's few productive areas with little environmental, human and technological resources to deal with these increasing population pressures. A number of trends in the population growth of the Sudan seem to indicate a serious problem for the sustainable development of the Sudan. Table 1 summarizes the major population characteristics of the Sudan. The implications of these trends will be discussed within the context of the future of the Sudan for a balanced and sustainable development.

From Table 3.1 it can be seen that the major demographic characteristics of the Sudan indicate a pattern of rapid and sustained population growth. The characteristics of a high fertility rate of 6.4, a large proportion of the population under the age of 15, a potential increase of over 10 million women between the ages of 15 and 49 years between 1985 and 2025, and

Table 3.1
Major Population Characteristics of the Sudan

Population Size:	1955/56	10,150,000
	1973	14,819,271
	1983	20,564,364
Population growth rate (1980-83)		3.1 % per year
Population projections (medium variant)		
	mid 1990's	29,116 m
	2025	59,594 m
Population densities (per sq km)		
	1950	4.0
	1983	9.0
	2025	22.0
Crude birth rate (1987)		46.8
Crude death rate (1987)		15.8
Natural Increase (1987)		2.9 %
Doubling time(1987)		24 years
Total fertility rate (1987		6.4
Population under 15 (1897)		45 %
Population of women aged 15-49		
	1985	4,238,000
	2025	14,930,000
Life expectancy at birth (1985-90)		
	female	51.0 years
	male	48.6 years
Contraceptive use (married women)5%		

Sources: Compiled from
1. U.N. Global Estimates and projection by sex and age 1988
2. Population Reference Bureau 1990 World Population Data Sheet
3. U.N. Demographic Yearbook 40th Issue 1988
4. The Europa World Yearbook 1989.
5. U.N. Population Policies VIII. Population Studies/Add. 2.

a very low acceptance rate of contraceptives (5%) seems to indicate that any reductions in population growth before the middle or end of the next century is not realistic.

In order to fully grasp the significance of the population trends in the Sudan, however, it is necessary to place them within the context of the environmental and resource base of the country. The Sudan, as part of the Sahelian belt of arid and semi-arid climates, is extremely vulnerable to drought, desertification and famine. Although drought does not necessarily lead to either desertification nor to famine, in the Sudan, due to population pressures on the land and poor land use practices, the three have almost become synonymous. Desertification or the degradation of the soil base is caused primarily by poor land use practices such as overgrazing, deforestation, and over-cultivation of crop land. The land can be so degraded that it simply cannot produce sufficient amounts of food, especially in times of drought, thus placing the inhabitants of the area at extreme risk of severe hunger and famine.

The two western provinces of Kordofan and Darfur (see Figure 1.1) are the most vulnerable to desertification, drought and famine. In these provinces it has been estimated that because of increasing population pressures, both of people and animals, that in the four years between 1980 and 1984, the desert advanced over a distance of about 200 km, whereas in the previous 17 year period the desert had advanced about 90 km (Khalil 1987). Thus it is apparent that due to a combination of drought and poor land use practices such as extensive rainfed cultivation of marginal lands, overgrazing, deforestation, uprooting of shrubs for fuelwood, lowering of the water table due to increased water use and burning of grass lands and forest shrub, the desertification process has intensified.

Famine, as the most severe indicator of the inability of the land to support its inhabitants, descended upon the Sudan in both the 1969-73 and 1979-84 Sahelian droughts. Estimates by FAO have shown that in 1983-85 2.5 million people were at risk from famine in the Sudan, particularly in the western provinces of Darfur and Kordofan. In 1988, it was announced that an estimated 2 million people were potential famine victims; this time in the south where the people had been unable to cultivate due to the ongoing civil war. In 1990-91, it was announced once again that the Sudan was faced by massive drought and famine.

For many rural Sudanese, the only alternative to starvation and death is to walk to the emergency feeding camps or to the major urban centres where food, jobs and services are more available. Massive rural to urban migration has resulted in an ever increasing problem of squatter settlements forming on the edges of the major urban centres, concentrated chiefly in Greater Khartoum.

The information presented in this brief overview of the Sudan indicates that the Sudan is a country where population growth has been exceeding the capability of the economic, social and environmental systems in place to provide for the basic needs of the majority of the population. The concept of sustainable development was first institutionalized by the 1983 U.N. World Commission on Environment and Development, (better known as the Bruntland Commission due to the chair of the then Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway). The concept encompasses two main principles:

> 1. The concept of needs, in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority should be given.
> 2. The idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet
>
> present and future needs (Our Common Future 1987, p.43).

While the first principle deals with the needs of humans and the knowledge that a world in which poverty and inequality exists will always be prone to ecological and other crises, the second encompasses the physical environment and humankind's ability to expand or destroy the capability of that environment to support human population via the ever expanding level of technology. Thus sustainable development is a process in which the "exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development and institutional change are all in harmony and enhance both current and future potential to meet human needs and aspirations." (Our Common Future 1987, p. 46) Put simply, sustainable development means the harmonization of demographic developments within the changing productive potential of the ecosystem to support that population.

In the Sudan, the equilibrium between population and the environment has long been disrupted. At the Third National Population Conference (1987), the Government of Sudan called for the formulation of an explicit population policy. The Conference identified three key factors which inhibit the Sudan's development effort; high birth rates, high death rates and excessive internal migration. The three recommendations coming out of this Conference were thus aimed at mitigating these three factors. These recommendations were to: (1) provide family planning services and information for all couples; (2) expand programmes to improve infant and child health, promote child survival and ensure safe motherhood; and (3) develop programmes to improve rural services and economic opportunities. These measures would necessarily be accompanied by a commitment by the government to improve overall economic and social conditions in the country, incorporating measures to raise income levels, employment and the status of women, to improve access to education and mitigate environmental degradation (Saghayroun et al. 1988).

However, given the extent of the environmental and economic bankruptcy of the Sudan at the present time, it would seem that many difficulties will be encountered in trying to harmonize the relationship between the population and the environment. Even with the advent of government policy on population, such policy objectives as the redistribution of wealth and access to resources and the improvement of the status of women would require a radical economic, social and cultural restructuring of Sudanese society, a change which in a traditional country such as the Sudan, would probably take many decades.

3.4 Urbanization, Squatter Settlements and the Growth of the Informal Sector

In the Sudan, it is estimated that 20 to 25 per cent of the total population, or some 5.5 million people, live in urban areas (Population Reference Bureau 1990; El Bakri et al. 1988). Table 3.2 shows that while in 1955/56 urban population accounted for only 8.3% of the total population, by 1973, this figure had increased to 18.5% in 1973 and 20.2% in 1983. Table 3.2 also shows that the country's average urban growth rate of 6.0% for 1973-83 is almost double the overall 3.1 % (Table 3.1) growth rate of the country.

From Table 3.2 it can also be seen that there is a marked difference between the provinces in terms of the proportion of each province's urban population. While the average for the country is 20.2% (1983), the proportion for Khartoum (Province) is much higher at 74.6%.

Table 3.2
Population living in urban areas of the Sudan by region

Table 3.2 has been removed due to the unavailability of copy right permission.

Table 3.3 demonstrates the clearly prominent position the Three Towns complex of Khartoum, Omdurman and Khartoum North, with 60% of the total urban population of the country and a growth rate of 2 percentage points higher than the country's average urban growth rate, occupies in the urbanization patterns of the Sudan.

Table 3.3
Population of Major Cities in the Sudan and Growth Rates

City	Population (000's)				Growth Rate (per annum)	
	1956	1965	1973	1983	1956-65	1973-83
Greater Khartoum	245	439	784	1,244	6.9	8.2
Omdurman	114	185	300	526	5.7	7.6
Khartoum	93	174	334	476	7.1	4.3
Khartoum North	39	80	151	341	8.1	12.6
Port Sudan	47	79	133	213	5.7	4.3
Kassala	41	68	100	143	5.7	6.0
Wad Medani	48	64	106	141	3.2	3.2
El Obeid	52	63	90	139	1.9	5.5
Juba	--	--	56	84	--	4.8
Sudan	434	712	1,269	2,064	5.3	6.0

Source: Compiled from El Bakri et al 1988, p. 154 and El Sammani et al 1986, p. 28.

The Sudan is no stranger to rapid urbanization and squatter settlements. Since the 1970's, the process has intensified due to civil war in the south, drought in the west and by refugees from famine and war in Ethiopia and Eritrea. In Port Sudan, the second largest city in the Sudan, the percentage of the city's population living in slum and squatter settlements was estimated at 55% (U.N. Habitat, 1982). In 1982, UNHCS Habitat completed a comprehensive study on squatter settlements in 23 cities of the developing world. Although Greater Khartoum was not included in this survey, Port Sudan, the country's second largest city, was (see Figure 1.1). Using 1979 population figures for Port Sudan it was shown that the population of the major squatter settlement in the city, Deim Omna was 18,000 or 16% of the total population of the city. In comparison to the other 22 cities surveyed, Port Sudan at 16%, had the second highest proportion of population living in squatter settlements. Only Lahore, Pakistan had a higher proportion (20.3%). However, most of the rapid urban growth in the Sudan has been concentrated on the "Three Towns" complex of Greater Khartoum. For Greater Khartoum there are virtually no reliable statistics for the population size of either the total squatter population or for individual settlements in and around the city. However, one study has suggested that 60% of the population of Greater Khartoum could be considered to be comprised of squatter settlement dwellers (Edrees 1984). Due to logistical and political considerations it is doubtful that a population census which included an accurate estimate of the squatter population will ever be accomplished for Greater Khartoum.

The primacy of Greater Khartoum evolved over time, due to its strategic political and economic location at the confluence of the Nile rivers and at the crossroads of the trade caravans heading both North-South to Egypt and East-West to Chad, Cameroon and beyond (El Sammani et al. 1986). Studies by Norris 1985, Abu Sin 1975, and Ahmad S.M. et al. 1988 have shown that the availability of services and employment, or at least the perception of high availability of employment and services, as well as for reasons of family reunification prompts the majority of rural migrants to decide on Greater Khartoum as their desired end location. Evidence on the comparative levels of economic development and provision of social services between the country's regions that characterizes the development pattern of the Sudan indeed indicates the attraction that the city must hold for destitute migrants coming from severely poverty stricken rural areas. Table 3.4 shows a comparative summary of six indicators of economic and social (service) development in the Sudan.

Table 3.4
Indicators of Economic and Social Disparities in the Sudan

Province	Factories Operational (total#)	Private Vehicles (total#)	Bank Offices (total#)	Hospital Beds (/ ooo)	Population Doctor Ratio	Per Capita Income (USD)
Khartoum	65.7	31.0	32.0	2.0	3230	377
Northern	4.3	4.2	10.0	1.5	20,264	258
Kassala	3.3	3.8	10.0	1.4	18,800	293
Red Sea	4.5	27.0	10.0	1.4	16,833	238
Darfur	1.6	0.7	6.0	0.4	48,852	251
Kordofan	7.2	1.3	9.0	0.6	45,255	299
Central	12.4	4.5	21.0	0.9	28,523	288
Bahr El Ghazal	-	0.4	1.0	0.7	74,646	134
Equatoria	1.0	1.5	2.0	1.4	62,223	157
Upper Nile	-	0.9	2.0	2.0	63,502	147

Source: Compiled from Farah et al 1988, p. 80 and Norris 1985, Chapter 2)

Thus it can be seen that the province of Khartoum, comprised of the city of Greater Khartoum, possesses a disproportionate quantity of the employment opportunities, health services and distribution of wealth available to the population of the Sudan.

Rapid urbanization presents a serious problem for the Sudanese government. When rural migrants arrive in the city, the first priority for them is to secure a shelter. However, they soon find that there is either an inadequate supply of housing available to them, or that they cannot afford to pay the required rent for existing housing. Thus, the majority of newly arrived migrants end up building, renting or buying an illegal dwelling in one of the many squatter settlements in and around the city. It is estimated that in most cities of the developing world, 70 to 90% of all new housing is now built illegally (Hardoy & Satterthwaite 1989).

The provision of adequate housing, water and sewage facilities, social services and employment for the influx of new urban dwellers presents a major financial and logistical problem for national governments. Additionally, if the government perceives the growing squatter settlements to be an eyesore which must be bulldozed immediately, there may be no commitment whatsoever to improve the conditions of services in such settlements. In reality, most governments do not have much control over the migration process and the impacts it has on the urban receiving areas. Squatter settlements spring up, in some case overnight, and are then almost impossible to get rid of. With not enough existing housing, or because of lack of money to pay rent, the people who create these settlements do not have any other alternatives. Hardoy & Satterthwaite's (1989) book, The Squatter Citizen is perhaps the most up-to-date publication on squatter settlements. They write:

> In Khartoum, the systems of water supply, sewage disposal, refuse disposal and electricity supply are all inadequate both in the coverage of the urban area and the maintenance of the service...the water supply is working beyond its design capacity while the demand continues to rise... The municipal sewage system serves only about 5 per cent of the Khartoum urban area...for most people in low income areas, there is no system of sewage disposal..." (p.149).

Once the need for shelter has been taken care of, the migrants then set off in search of work. Due to lack of marketable skills and education, however, they soon discover there is little opportunity for wage labour in the "formal" or "modern" economy. Thus they turn to the "informal" sector which is easier to enter, requires low capital inputs, is free from taxation and can absorb large amounts of workers. However, the informal sector, while allowing people to work, also has its negative side. The work is usually short-term or dependent strictly on the worker's initiative, the pay is unstable and very low or on a piece-meal basis, there is little access to capital and resources, and there is no protection of working conditions or job.

Since 1972, when the International Labour Organization undertook its first study into the as yet "untermed" informal sector, a large number of studies have been undertaken which have greatly increased the understanding of both the magnitude and the structure of the informal sector. Collectively, these studies have clearly established that a significant and growing part of the urban labour force in developing countries, between 20 and 60 per cent, is engaged in informal activities. These studies have also generated an awareness of the potential of this type of economic activity for providing employment and a means of survival for the masses of relatively poor, uneducated, recent rural migrants in the cities of the developing countries (Bromely 1978; Friedmann & Wulff 1975; Haan 1989; Hake 1977; Hosier 1987; House 1984; McGee 1971; Obudho 1983; Ross 1973; Santos 1979; Tokman 1978; Wa-Githumo 1983; Wilkinson & Webster 1982; and Yankson 1983).

The emergence of the informal sector can be attributed to the changing socio-economic situation in developing countries starting in the 1950's. In these years, the effects of an increasing population growth were compounded by a rapidly accelerating migration from the rural areas to the cities. This accelerated pace led to employment problems of both a quantitative and qualitative nature; not only did the urban labour force expand faster than the employment generated in the urban modern sector of the economy, but also the jobs created in these sectors catered mainly to skilled labour, ignoring the untrained workers from the urban low-income groups, women who needed to enter the labour force, and the large number of unskilled workers from the rural areas (Haan 1989).

The definition of informal economic activities in these studies ranges from the very simplistic to the very complex, however, for the purposes of this thesis, a general "definition" of these informal activities can generally be given as an economic activity which can be characterized by a combination of the following:

(1) ease of entry;
(2) reliance on indigenous resources;
(3) individual or family ownership of enterprises;
(4) small scale of operation;
(5) skills acquired outside the formal education system;
(6) operating in unregulated and competitive markets;

(7) little or no access to financial credit;

(8) operates in a semi-permanent or temporary structure or in a variable location;

(9) no formal registration with government; and

(10) avoidance of tax collection and labour inspection.

Haan (1989), however, points out that there are many varieties of informal economic activities occurring in many developing country cities which do not "fit" into even such a generalized description as this and thus the definition of what an informal sector activity is or is not will continue to be an area of adjustment and research.

4.0 WOMEN AND THE INFORMAL SECTOR IN THE SUDAN

4.1 Women in the Sudan

Before discussing women in the informal sector in the Sudan, it is first necessary to understand the cultural and social context within which Sudanese women live and work. The Arabic and Muslim culture of the Sudan, as do all cultures, includes specific attitudes towards women and includes what are deemed to be acceptable gender roles for women and men and for female-male interaction.

Women in the Sudan live under the authority of two contradictory laws; that of the Sharia or law of Islam, and civil or secular law. While the civil constitution of many Arab states guarantees all citizens equality in all public rights and duties, with no discrimination made on the basis of race, sex, language, religion, ideology or belief (El Saadawi 1988, p. 9), Sharia law does not. It is important that the phrase public rights and duties be noted. The constitution of Arabic countries makes a distinction between the public sphere, which is governed by civil law, and the private sphere, which is governed by Sharia or family law. It is within Sharia law that women are deprived of their rights and freedom. The contradiction between civil and Sharia law can be seen easily using the example of civil labour law. Women, as equal members in society have the right to work, however, a woman cannot practise this right unless she has the permission of a male member of the family because Sharia law dictates that a woman's husband, father or brother, and not the woman herself, has the right to decide if she should or should not work.

In the Muslim state, secular law is unequivocally subordinated to the divine power of Allah. The rule of Allah, as revealed to Mohammed, embodies God who is the sole legislator. There can be no sovereign state, in the sense that the state has the right to enact its own law, although it may be given some freedom in determining its constitutional structure. The law precedes the state, both logically and in term of time. Therefore the state exists solely for the purposes of maintaining and enforcing the law (Mernissi 1975).

In the Sudan, it is believed that the imposition of Turkish rule marked the end of equal rights for women; a time when women came to be treated as ornaments and placed within the control of harems and men. Sudanese women believe that this is the origin of the isolation of women from society (El Badawi 1968).

The present day women's movement in the Sudan started in 1947 and revolved around the issue of education. Before 1911, there were no schools for girls in the whole of the country. By 1919, five girls schools were opened, and in 1941, the first intermediate girls school opened. In 1949, the first female students passed the Cambridge School Certificate Examination and entered the University College of Khartoum.

However, the curricula for girls was very much of a lower standard than that of boy's schools, and included substantial instruction in homecraft, needlecraft, etc, (Ahmed S.A. et al 1988). Women's opportunities for wage employment were severely limited by this lack of education and training. Indeed at this time, the only professions open to women were teaching and nursing. After independence in 1956, the subordinate position of women was maintained. Neither the Five-Year Plan of Economic and Social Development (1970-75) nor the Six-Year Plan (1977-83) included plans to raise the status of women (Ahmed S.A. et al 1988).

Sudanese women have fought for and gained civil equality with men. They have gained many rights, among which are pay equity and non-discriminatory hiring practices, 2 month maternal leave, a minimum marriage age of 14 years and the ability to place stipulations in her marriage contract which give her the right to work, to obtain education and to have ownership of household property after her marriage. However, the number of women who are educated enough to be aware of all these rights and the number of women who are willing to exercise these rights, even if they are aware of them, are very few. Thus the majority of Sudanese women live strictly under the terms of Sharia law which, as seen, places them under the control of male family members.

Sudanese women gain their status and privilege in society, not because of individual merit, but rather on the basis of their reproductive capabilities, namely, how many sons they can produce. Studies have shown that the majority of women in Khartoum are aware of at least one form of contraception but that on average, only 25% of the women currently use some method (Khalifa 1982,1981). The 1979 Fertility Survey differed in its estimates of how many married women utilized some form of birth control; finding that only 12% had used a form of contraception at some point in their lives but only 6.4% were currently using a device (Saghayroun & Gerais 1988). Attitudes towards the use of contraception are influenced by a complex interaction of many socio-economic factors and these factors become even more complex once the prevailing societal attitudes towards birth control start to create a socially acceptable "climate" for its use. In many Muslim, Arabic countries, one of the main reasons why birth control is not exercised by women even though the methods are known and available to them is that women, in order to become an "acceptable" member of society, must be married at an appropriate age. While Western women have the freedom to pursue their own lives and careers and live comfortably within society as single women, Sudanese women, because of their illiteracy and low education levels, and because of the very limited opportunities for work outside the home, must get married in order to maintain both their and their individual and their family's honour, and their economic survival. Therefore there is no space for women who do not marry. Once married, women only gain social status when they give their husband a boy child. Salman (1987) writes: "The rate of divorce of sterile women or mothers of girls is very high in Arab society. Arab women who are aware of the only weapon (power) they possess, namely their ability to keep their husband and gain the respect of their in-laws by giving birth to boys, often refuse to use contraceptives" (p.8). This is why, she adds, that the Arab countries have one of the highest birth rates of any region in the world.

For the author, the ability to understand the full complexities of the Islamic religion and the position of women in Islam represents a cultural gap that perhaps can never really be crossed. It is, for the purposes of this thesis, important to try and understand and explain the practice and the issue of the seclusion of women in purdah and under the veil. As will be shown in this thesis, the food sellers suffer from a wide variety of problems in their work as food sellers and in their everyday lives of trying to survive in a harsh urban environment. One of the less tangible, but extremely real problems that the women face is the fact that they feel that their status as respectable women is being compromised because this job placed them within the company of strange men in public places. Their feeling of shame is directly related to the concept and practice of purdah.

According to some feminist Moslem scholars, purdah and the veil originated in the time when the transition between a matriarchal system to an oncoming patriarchal one was being made. Various studies about the position of women before the spread of Islam and in the early Islam period have speculated that women were recognized as equals with full rights to rule, inherit land and participate in society on par with men (Khan 1972; Minai 1981; Stowasser 1984). Feminist interpretations of the Koran have speculated that in this matriarchal society, the value of women and of their reproductive capabilities were central to the well-being of the society, that women had the power to take as many "husbands" as desired and that the children born to any particular union belonged to the woman and her family's clan, not to the father's. Protection of women, mothers and their children and the provision of food and their basic needs were considered the responsibility of the maternal male members of the clan. However, with increasing conflict between clans and tribes and as a result of changing values associated with war and conquest and the acquisition of wealth, women, because of the children that could be gotten from them began to be regarded as property. In order to ensure that the paternity of the children, primarily male children who would inherit their father's wealth, could be safeguarded, it became necessary to control the sexual behaviour of women. It was within this cultural and social millieu that practices such as the harem, purdah or the seclusion of women in the home, and the veil came into being (Mernissi 1975; Stowasser 1984; Gerner 1984; Minai 1981;

Khan 1972).

This practice of keeping women either in seclusion or veiled when in the sight of men who are not family members stems out of the fundamental Muslim belief that all people, both women and men possess an active sexuality (Ed-Din 1982; Mernissi 1975; Khan 1972). Mernissi (1975) discusses two distinct types of sexual regulation within society. While one type enforces respect of sexual rules by a strong internalization of sexual prohibitions during the socialization process (such as ethics of premarital chastity and post-marital fidelity), the other enforces respect by external precautionary safeguards such as avoidance (secluding unmarried girls, constant surveillance, harems, and veiling). However, Mernissi also argues that the difference between the two types of societal sexual regulation lies not in the mechanisms of internalization or socialization, but in the concept of female sexuality which underlies each. She argues that in societies where there are no methods of surveillance and coercion of women's behaviour, the concept of female sexuality is passive and where there is seclusion, etc., the concept of female sexuality is active. Mernissi argues that the whole Muslim organization of social interactions and spatial configurations can be understood in terms of women's power or "quaid". The existing social order thus can be seen as an attempt to subjugate women's power and neutralize its disruptive effects. She argues that the Muslim religion sees female sexuality as "fitna". Fitna has two meanings; one, disorder and chaos, and two, a beautiful woman. Together they mean chaos provoked by sexual disorder initiated by women. Thus civilization is seen as a struggle to contain women's destructive, all-absorbing power or "quaid", where women must be controlled to prevent men from being distracted from their social and religious duties and where society can only survive by creating institutions which foster male dominance through sexual segregation.

Mernissi points out that though sexual segregation, polygamy and other Islamic practices which subjugate women under male control may seem to give an impression of the low value and power attributed to women, in fact, Islam, unlike Christianity, recognizes the full potential of the power of women and thus has created many social institutions to suppress women and protect men from this power.

Mernissi (1975) writes:

> In Western culture, sexual inequality is based on belief in women's biological inferiority. This explains some aspects of Western women's liberation movements, such as that they are almost always led by Western women, that their effect is often very superficial , and that they have not yet succeeded in changing significantly the male-female dynamics in that culture. In Islam there is no such belief in female inferiority. On the contrary, the whole system is based on the assumption that woman is a powerful and dangerous being. All sexual institutions (polygamy, repudiation, sexual segregation, etc) can be perceived as a strategy for containing her power (p. xvi)

Mernissi argues that Islam was never intended to be a religion or a saviour for women, but one strictly made for men, with women simply being considered a dangerous distraction that threatened to jeopardise the orderliness of society under the rule of Allah.

Purdah and the veil are but one manifestation of this fundamental Islamic belief. Because of the belief in the inherent danger of women, women were forced into spaces that could be controlled and dominated by men. It was considered that the only men who could view women unveiled and not be distracted would be the immediate family members. Women were thus not to be allowed to be seen by strange men and had to be confined to the female domestic space within the home called the "zenana". Khan (1972) writes:

> Sex has always been a problem for man - a problem of adjusting sexual and social relationships between the males and females in human society. In the patriarchal society, in which the male sex dominates the female, these relationships are organized on the priority and superiority of the male over the female in all matters of life, such as family relations, ownership of property, social activities, education, political rights and freedoms, etc. Purdah system is an extreme form of male dominance. It does so by excluding women from all outdoor social activities and achievements and by secluding them behind the four-walls of the female apartments of the house and by segregating them from all men, except the closest male relatives. It denies women the freedom of action and participation in social life. ... If they move out of the house, they must put on a burqu (a head-to-foot

> covering) or a chadder (a sheet to wrap the body in) or a ghungat (a face cover), in order to veil themselves from the men outside, so as to prevent any likelihood of contact with them (p. 18).

The author has tried, for her own understanding about the women food sellers and for the purposes of this thesis, to connect the lives of the food sellers with their overall social and physical environments. The Muslim religion, because of its unequivocal authority as divine law, has one of the most influential and important roles in shaping and determining the lives of women, their position and freedom, relative to men.

The current situation in the Sudan is not promising for women. Under the increasingly fundamentalist Islamic government of Lt. Gen. Bashir, and his scheduled imposition of strict Sharia law, women will lose many of the rights they have gained in civil law. Already it is rumoured that women's entry into university, especially in the fields of medicine, science, engineering and agriculture is being limited and that women lawyers and civil workers are being removed from their jobs (Misch 1990).

4.2 Women in the Informal Sector in the Sudan

Not much is known about the total numbers of people engaged in the informal sector in Greater Khartoum or in the whole of the Sudan. However, one study has shown that the informal sector is currently absorbing 20 to 35% of the urban labour force (Ali & Yassin 1989). Since the initial ILO mission to the Sudan in 1976, studies on the informal sector have concentrated on developing a methodology by which the informal sector can be integrated into the formal economy of the Sudan, and on improving the performance of the informal sector. In doing so, it is hoped that a previously unknown source of revenue (taxation) can be tapped to lead to the improvement the overall economy of the Sudan.

A short list of some of the more common informal sector activities engaged in in the Sudan gives evidence of the variety and depth of the country's informal sector. A study by Bilal (1985) shows that such activities include: lorry, bus, and taxi driving, goldsmiths, electrical and watch repair, blacksmiths, tailors, fruit and vegetable selling, shoeshine boys, car wash boys, laundry shops, and a great number more. Bilal (1985) points out that even though it is generally thought that all informal sector activities are illegal and unlicensed, many of the activities he researched were in fact licensed and legal.

Many of the studies conducted on the informal sector in general, and specifically of the informal sector in the Sudan, tend to concentrate only on the kinds of activities that are engaged in by men. This is perhaps due to the fact that research methodologies have, in the past, been based on the assumptions that: (1) the household unit is the best representation of socio-economic behaviour; (2) that the head-of household, and the main indicator of household behaviour is male (husband/father); and (3) that the female (wife/mother) member's activities should only be considered as supplementary to the primary socio-economic activities of the male head-of-household (Nelson 1988; Waring 1988). For example in the U.N. Habitat (1982) survey on squatter and slum areas, it is written:

> By far the largest portion of a family's monthly income is generated by one person, usually the head of household. Most of that income is in the form of wages, while a growing contribution is made by secondary incomes, usually derived from the small-scale and often part-time economic activities of housewives and children. (p. 105)

In the same U.N. report it is recognized that women can be heads-of-households, yet no attempt is made in this survey to document the types of activities that female-headed households engaged in. Thus important information about women and of the socio-economic behaviour of society in general has been largely overlooked. This gap, however, is being redressed by feminist researchers. Many studies have begun to focus specifically on the types of activities that women engage in the informal sector in general, (Beneria 1981; Bujra 1976; Kayongo-Male 1980; Nelson 1978,1988; Smock 1981; Stichter 1976; 1989 UN World Survey; White 1980) and in the Sudan specifically (Kenyon 1987; and Hassan 1989).

Nelson (1988) writes:

> If men are badly enumerated in the informal sector, then women are even more so. This is no doubt partly due to the assumption made by census takers and economists that women in the urban areas who are not employed in the formal economy must therefore be dependents of men. Only middle class women with high qualifications are listed in national employment statistics; though often men without any qualifications are listed in national employment as a matter of course. Secondly, researchers who have done micro-studies in cities concentrating on the informal economy have shown little interest in the numbers of women working in it, or the types of work that they do. (p. 199)

Thus the economic productivity of women and the differential experiences that women experience in working in the paid labour force as compared to men, tends to be ignored. Beneria (1981) writes that even when attempts are made to record women's work, there is an inherent bias in the criteria which serves to define what is work, and what is not work. She states that work is almost always defined as those activities which are related directly to the market. However, for women, work usually means those activities done in the home, such as family care and domestic chores, as well as those activities done outside the home. Even when work outside the home is engaged in, women's work often cannot be delineated in terms of hours spent in one kind of work or in set spatial locations. In addition, such factors as responsibilities for childcare, lack of transportation, and fear of physical and sexual safety act to limit women's activity space and to keep them closer to the home than men.

Thus women, Beneria says, often try and combine home/domestic responsibilities with paid work both in terms of temporal spacing and spatial location. The result is that labour force work, the kind that is seen to be economically productive, is severely underestimated in terms of women's participation.

Nelson (1988) also points out that it should not be assumed that the head-of-household is a man. For example, in Kenya, though this was certainly true in the 1950's and 60's when it was mostly men who migrated to the cities, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of women migrants, especially single women with or without children. The number of female migrants have now overtaken that of male migrants. In a National Christian Council of Kenya survey in Mathare Valley, Nairobi's largest squatter settlement, it was shown that there was more women than men in the settlement and that anywhere from 60 to 80 per cent of the women were heads-of-households (Nelson 1988).

Women in the Sudan in the rural areas face even more hardship than do men with the impacts of drought and famine. Ibrahim & Nolte (1987) note that there is a greater death toll among women because of starvation in times of famine than among men because of traditional practices which discriminate against women. In the Sudan, it is the custom that women do not eat with men. The husband, with his sons, eat first and then the women and girls are allowed to eat. In most cases, the women eat what remains from the men's meal. From observations made in relief camps in the Red Sea Province, more than 95 per cent of the cases of severe malnutrition which had to be treated by artificial feeding were women and children (Ibrahim & Nolte 1987).

Studies have shown that increasingly, women are leaving the severe environmental conditions in their rural homelands and migrating to the urban areas alone or with their families (Norris 1985). These women, who had previously stayed home in the rural areas while their husbands or fathers migrated to the cities to find work, have now joined them and have no intention of going back home, and are now looking for a means to support themselves and their families. Kenyon (1987) writes:

> Recent events have drawn attention to the economic plight of large numbers of Sudanese people. The spiralling cost of living has particularly affected the urban poor where incomes are small and unsteady, where there are few or no agricultural resources to fall back on and where the extended family support is weak or lacking. ... The burden of continuing to feed the family and of maintaining some pattern and stability of normal social life in times of severe shortages invariably falls on the women of the household. ... The phenomena of poor urban women working is not new, but increasing numbers are now doing so. While this fact is not in dispute, the work of poor urban women is still not really taken seriously and the help given to them to improve their own self-image and consequently their ability to make a decent living is minimal (p. 57, 63)

In the Sudan, only two studies could be found which focus specifically on, or at least equally emphasize the roles of women and men in the informal sector. Hassan (1989) divided the types of informal activities engaged in the Greater Khartoum into five categories; trade, service, transport, production and construction. She found that women were concentrated into the trade and production categories, which encompassed such activities as vegetable and fruit selling, kisra and tea/coffee selling; and palm leaves, cap and basket making. Hassan summarizes that the main problems that the workers engaged in the informal sector encounter include lack of licenses, government harassment, poor working conditions, limited markets and profits, lack of materials such as fuel, spare parts and food, and a high level of competition. As will be seen in the case study presented in this thesis, all of these problems are applicable to the food selling activity.

Kenyon (1987) lists a number of activities which have never appeared in any studies done by the ILO or other agencies interested in the informal sector in the Sudan. She notes that women are engaged in such activities as sewing, cosmetic processing, hairdressing, traditional curing, fortune telling, child minding, crocheting string bags, painting headscarves, decorating bed sheets and tobs and the resale of goods or clothes in their neighbourhoods. Regardless of activity, Kenyon states that several characteristics mark these activities as "a poor woman's income-generating activity". First, the activities are all part-time in the sense that they are pursued for part of the day, and then dropped when another activity must be taken up. Second, most of the women have an alternative source of income and these activities are used as a supplementary rather than a primary income. Third, unless the need is very great, these activities are considered to be less important than social/domestic demands and events such as a sick child, or the presence of guest take precedence on the women's time. Fourth, although the time and effort invested in the activity is great, the returns are relatively slight. However, for the women, any income obtained is considered worthwhile. Fifth, most of these activities are not dependent on anyone but the individual woman. While certain jobs such as factory jobs are more secure, they are also full-time and it is often impossible for women to commit to this amount of time on a regular basis. Thus women who are faced with the need to earn some money to help provide for their individual and family's needs will turn to the informal sector where, even though there are many problems with the activity, the chance for quick income is an attractive quality.

5.0 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

5.1 Background

Much feminist literature has been concerned with the issue of the methodologies used for research about and for women (Mies 1989; Klein 1989; Du Bois 1989; Maguire 1987: Kirby & McKenna 1989: Henderson 1990; Oakley 1981; Women and Study Group 1984). It has been argued that in the social sciences, great emphasis has been placed on positivist, quantitative approaches to research where reliable and valid information can be gained only through the "measurement of manifest behaviour, a priori hypothesis testing, operationalization of concepts and procedures, verification of established theory, generalization, scientific protocols cause and effect, data reduction and standardization" (Henderson 1990, p. 16). Researchers have been urged to remain emotionally aloof from their subjects, and above all, to maintain a value-free and strictly "objective" posture about the research question. Qualitative methods, based on an interpretative approach, and as an alternative to this positivist ideal, however, has been considered to be purely descriptive, non-predictive and unscientific.

Feminist researchers have questioned this reliance on a rigorous scientific methodological approach and have argued that by remaining aloof and uninvolved with the emotions and experiences of the "subjects" that there is a danger of obscuring the truth. Thus feminist researchers believe that "we need to allow the purportedly `female' characteristics of empathy, intuition and concern for the feelings and emotions of others to temper the purportedly `male' characteristics of objectivity and rationality if we are to understand people's actions and attitudes" (Women and Study Group 1984, p. 135).

There has been a repeated call for methodologies which have an ideological commitment to uncovering the truth about women's experiences and perspectives. Kirby & McKenna (1989) and Maguire (1987) both offer radical approaches to doing research about and for women and all oppressed groups within society. In keeping with Hooks' (1984) theories of marginalization of black women within a white supremacist culture, Kirby & McKenna (1989) call their methods "methods from the margins". They write that there is a need to keep in-tact, within the research process, the integrity, knowledge, equality and humanity of both the researcher and the participant. Only then can the process of research considered to be "honourable". The participatory approach, includes methods which are presently used in more traditional research, such as interviews, surveys, and participant observation. However, there are important differences in the assumptions that underlie why and how these methods are to be used.

Maguire (1987) provides a detailed description of the underlying assumptions of the participatory research method. In summary, five major tenants underlie this method:

(1) Knowledge is power. The production and dissemination of knowledge has been used as a mechanism for keeping certain people in power. Knowledge has been used to distort the images of marginal people (those not in power) to reinforce powerful people's superiority.

(2) The acquisition of power has been made into a lucrative business where the only forms and methods of obtaining knowledge is through scientific and positivist "expertise". Non-experts have been marginalized out of the process and are treated as subjects to be studied.

(3) All work that people do, because it has implications for the distribution of power in society has a political nature. There is no such thing as neutral or value-free science.

(4) Research must therefore take a clear stand on what its underlying objectives are; to work for oppressed people, or for those in power.

(5) Marginalized people have the tools to critically reflect and analyze their own life situations. Therefore, the production of knowledge and the methods used in this process must be turned over so that a more accurate reflection of society can be reached.

Thus the feminist participatory research approach, based on the recognition that male power and gender oppression has been a central factor in the construction of knowledge about women, represents an ideological commitment to the production of accurate reflections of marginalized women's lives.

5.2 Difficulties with the Participatory Approach

Participatory research methods are difficult to follow through because they require the researcher to spend a greater amount of time: (1) exploring the research question; (2) designing the techniques chosen for the research, usually on an equal basis with the "subjects"; and (3) administering the research methodology, than is normally spent in the "top-down" approach of conventional research.

In the study of the food sellers, every attempt was made to follow the ideological commitment to a more participatory research model. However, because of a combination of financial, time and cultural factors, the finer points of this model became impossible to follow. The author's lack of Arabic made the use of three research interviewers/translators a necessity and limited any real interaction between the researcher and the women. Even though interaction between the interviewers and the author was strong, first hand understanding would have been preferable.

Another difficulty was that some of the women were very suspicious of the interviewers whom, despite constant reassurance, they thought were government officials. This inevitably affected the quality of some of the responses, and it also resulted in a refusal rate of approximately 23% for the questionnaire survey (see section 5.5.1) and 41% for the indepth interviews (see section 5.5.2).

A third problem was that the informal sector is a touchy area for the Government of the Sudan and despite the fact that the study had every possible reference letter and security clearance from the Head of Internal Security, the interviewers were often stopped by local officials and asked to produce authorizations. This inevitably affected the confidence of the author and field assistants, both in a negative sense as well as positive. On the negative side, especially right after an encounter with the authorities, the field assistants became nervous and more hasty in their interviews. On the positive side, the author and interviewers gained a deep empathy with the women food sellers because of the shared feeling of wanting to avoid the authorities.

5.3 Linkages with Sudanese Researchers

Having lived in Kenya in 1989-90, and being familiar with the nature of the informal sector in Kenya, the author had originally identified the topic of women vegetable and fruit hawkers in Nairobi as a thesis topic. However, difficulties with obtaining a research permit in Kenya presented a major obstacle. Th author might have been able to obtain a permit, however, the application process would have taken a minimum of 7 months. For this, and a number of other reasons, the author decided to switch geographical locations to Khartoum. These reasons included the author's likewise familiarity with

Khartoum, contacts with Dr. Yagoub Abdulla Mohamed, Director of the Institute of Environmental Studies and Dr. Mohamed Babiker and Dr. Abu Sin at the Department of Geography, University of Khartoum made during a trip to the Sudan in December 1990, and Dr. Yagoub Abdulla's presence at the University of Alberta from January to April 1990.

The preliminary research visit to the Sudan in December 1990 allowed the author to hold discussions with Dr. Mohamed Babiker, Dr. Abu Sin and Dr. Yagoub Abdulla Mohamed. These discussions revolved around the topic of the impacts that severe environmental degradation in the rural areas, especially in the western provinces, were having on Greater Khartoum. The problems of rural-urban migration, squatter settlements, displacement camps and the informal sector were all discussed with the author constantly trying to select a topic which focused on how women were coping in the deteriorating conditons in the Sudan.

The author also consulted numerous documents, theses, and reports at the University of Khartoum and Institute of Environmental Studies libraries in order to obtain an understanding of the kinds of research that had been conducted in the Sudan, as well as those completed at research institutes outside of the Sudan[3] on the topics of environmental degradation, rural-urban migration, squatter settlements, displacement camps, and the informal sector.

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[3] Much research about the Sudan has been conducted at universities in the United Kingdom and these documents and theses have been deposited in the University of Khartoum library.

During this visit, the author also put forward requests to the Department of Geography and Institute of Environmental Studies for possible candidates for field assistants. A preference for female, senior undergraduate or Masters geography students was expressed. It was hoped that in addition to the much needed translation and interpretation skills, the field assistants would also be able to contribute their experience as researchers in the Khartoum-Sudanese setting as well as their understanding of the position and roles of women in the Sudanese culture.

It was not until Dr. Yagoub Abdulla Mohamed's visit to the Department of Geography, University of Alberta in the winter term, 1990 as a visiting scholar, however, that the thesis topic was finalized. Realizing the author's intention of wanting to focus on a woman's perspective within the overall problems of environmental degradation, rapid rural-urban migration and the impacts these phenomena were having on Khartoum, Dr. Yagoub singled out the informal sector activity of food selling. He emphasized that this activity was undeniably a "woman's activity" and that it represented an unstudied manifestation of the environmental and development crisis in the Sudan.

Dr. Yagoub provided advice on the development, structuring and formulation of the questionnaire survey as well as the government interviews. His detailed knowledge and familiarity with the Sudan assisted in identifying:

1. the gaps in the information known about the informal sector in general in the Sudan;
2. the gaps in the information known about the women food sellers; and
3. the kinds of questions that needed to be asked.

5.4 Research Assistants

The field assistants, Nadir Hassan, Neimat Mohamed Freigoon and Inaam Ibrahim (se Plate 5.1), were hired with the help of Dr. Mohamed Babiker. Originally it was planned to hire only two research assistants, and that they be female to avoid any difficulties in having a man asking personal questions of the women food sellers. However, Dr. Babiker convinced the author that a male assistant would be invaluable in helping with interviews with government officials since in the Sudan, it is much easier to gain access into government offices when "introduced" by a man, (if one is a woman). Nadir, the male assistant, and Neimat were senior undergraduate students in the Department of Geography. Neimat proved to be an invaluable resource as she had conducted a study on the informal sector in Khartoum for her Honor's thesis (Freigoon 1989). The third field assistant, Inaam, was a senior undergraduate student in the Department of English and was chosen primarily because of her translation and interpretation abilities.

Neimat and Inaam administered the majority (76%) of the questionnaires with Nadir administering 24%. It was questionable whether having a man interview the women food sellers would be appropriate. However, after initial difficulties in the pretest (see Section 5.5.1.1) it was decided that his gender was not resulting in a noticeable difference in the quality of the questionnaires. Because of the relative intimacy of the indepth interviews, however, Nadir did not participate in this aspect of the research.

Having three field assistants enabled the author to carry out various components of the field research simultaneously. While Nadir and the author spent very frustrating days engaged in interviews with various government officials, Neimat and Inaam continued administering the questionnaires.

The three assistants were very interested in the topic and in the women food sellers and thus the author considered it of the utmost importance to incorporate their observations, understanding and insights into the findings that would eventually be presented in this thesis.

5.5 Research Techniques and Difficulties Encountered

A number of research techniques were used to conduct the field study. These included:

5.5.1 Questionnaires;

5.5.2 Indepth interviews;

5.5.3 Interviews with government officials;

Plate 5.1: The three field assistants, (from left to right) Inaam, Nadir, and Neimat.

5.5.4 Discussions with Sudanese women;

5.5.5 Interviews with the field assistants; and

5.5.6 Observation by the author.

The purpose of each type of technique, and the type of information sought from each will be outlined in the sections dealing with the specific technique. The combination of these techniques uncovered detailed information about the food selling activity and the women food sellers and represented the many aspects involved in the food selling activity.

The use of a variety of techniques allowed the cross verification of information received from the various sources. Thus, even though problems were encountered with the application of individual techniques, the validity of the information collected from such a technique could be cross referenced with other techniques and other sources of information.

One major problem was experienced because the interview process and the presence of a foreigner in the market places presented a curiosity. Many boys and men in the area crowded around the author, interviewers and women food sellers listening to what was being said. This made the women very nervous and the interviewers felt they did not respond as accurately or with as much depth as they might have. The issue of the accuracy of the information obtained is, of course, central to the analytical framework of this thesis. However, despite these difficulties, it was felt that the questionnaire/interview process, on the whole went fairly well, and the quality of the data, although varied, gave a very good overview of the economic, logistical, problematic and personal characteristics of the food selling activity.

The indepth interviews also suffered from this problem of complete accuracy, but only in the cases where the woman's husband or male members of the household were present. In these cases, (three out of the 10 interviews) the women's responses were markedly shorter. However, the information obtained was still considered to be valuable as it reflected an individual woman's reflections and experiences and the collective information uncovered from these interviews gave the author detailed insights into the home and family context of the women.

5.5.1 Questionnaire Survey

One hundred and seven questionnaires were administered over a period of 10 days. No study has been conducted which gives a indication of the total numbers of women food sellers in Khartoum. However, from several discussions with Dr. Yagoub Abdulla Mohamed, it was estimated that there are anywhere between 1000 and 2000 women food sellers working in Greater Khartoum. Thus the sample size of 107 for this study was between 5% and 10%. The women were selected without pretense of following a statistical sampling technique. The interviewers simply approached any woman food seller in the study area until consent was obtained. The author did ask the interviwers, however, to ensure that interviews were not being conducted within earshot of another woman being interviewed. The refusal rate for the questionnaire survey was approximately 23%. In total, the interviewers approached or had some contact with 138 women food sellers.

The questionnaires were designed to uncover a wide range of information about the food selling activity and about the women food sellers. The questions covered the economic and problematic aspects of the activity, the spatial and temporal patterns of the activity, and the personal characteristics and perceptions of the women food sellers. The questionnaires also sought to uncover patterns in the ways in which the women reconciled their work activities with their home and family responsibilities. A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix I.

Because the food selling activity is illegal and it was suspected that the women would be fearful of strangers, the initial part of each interview was spent in talking casually with the women, introducing the interviewers, the objectives of the research project and reassuring them that the study was in no way related to the government. The interviewers were met with mixed reactions. A few women immediately dropped their guard and responded enthusiastically to the questions. Others cried and asked for help, believing that they were finally being approached by the government or an external support agency which had funds available to help them in a concrete way. Many did not react at all but cautiously consented to the interview. It was suspected that the majority felt they could not trust the interviewers and therefore, with certain questions, especially those related to their profits or anything to do with money and costs, their responses were not entirely accurate.

Throughout the questionnaire survey process, the author usually sat with one of the three interviewers. The reason for the author's accompaniement, was, at the start of the field research, to assess the "quality" of the interview process in a sort of watchdog approach. However, once the interviewers were comfortable with the process, and the author comfortable with the quality of the information being collected, the reason for the author's accompaniement became more to do with wanting to absorb the whole environment of the food selling activity; the incredible heat and dryness, the interaction between the (male) customers and the women, and the ever constant threat of kashas impinging upon the women's consciousness. For the author, to say the least, it was an exciting experience.

5.5.1.1 Pretest

A pretest of 10 questionnaires was conducted for a number of reasons which include:

(1) to ensure that the questionnaire contained no questions

that might be objectionable or offensive to the women food sellers and/or the field assistants;

(2) to allow the field assistants to become comfortable with the verbal translation from English to Arabic. Although the field assistants had already translated the questionnaire into written Arabic, they expressed a need to practice administering the questionnaire in a verbal and colloquial Arabic that would be more appropriate for communication with the women food sellers; and

(3) to ensure that the questions being asked were appropriate to the kinds of information being sought by the author.

The questionnaire was written in English, and given to the field assistants two days prior to the pretest. This enabled the field assistants to translate the questionnaire from English to Arabic. The pretest was completed in one day during which time a total of ten questionnaires (three each + an extra one by Nadir) were conducted. During the pretest, the author accompanied each of the three interviewers to observe any difficulties that the interviewers were experiencing, as well as the reaction of the women food sellers to the questions.

After the pretest was completed, the author reviewed each of the 10 pretested questionnaires and noted questions which seemed to be presenting problems either in the way in which the interviewers were asking the questions, or in the way the women seemed to be responding to the questions. The author then went over each question to ensure that the interviewers understood what information was being sought and to ask if any questions needed to be rephrased to better obtain the information sought, and if so, what suggestions they had to rephrase them. Overall, the problems encountered in the pretest were a result of the translation from English to Arabic, and how to verbalize them properly, rather than a function of the questions themselves. The author then reviewed each day's questionnaires to ensure that no further problems were occurring. The only other problem was related to the speed of Nadir's (male assistant) interviews. During the pretest, he completed four interviews while Neimat and Inaam conducted three each. He also completed these four interviews faster than Neimat and Inaam completed their three. The quality of Nadir's pretest interviews, in terms of the amount of detail of the answers he recorded, was somewhat lower than that of Neimat's and Inaam's. The author cautioned Nadir to spend more time on each interview.

5.5.1.2 Selection of the Study Areas

Eight areas in Khartoum were selected where food sellers were known to be active (see Figure 1.2). These areas were chosen to reflect different urban functions, economic classes and geographic locations within the city (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1
Location of the Interviews

Location	Number	%	Function	* Economic Class of Surrounding Area
Suq Libya	23	22	camel market	4
Hag Yousif	22	21	market place	5
Suq Ashabia	16	15	market place	3
Saad Gishraa	15	14	bus depot	3
Khartoum South	11	10	commercial area	2/1
Khartoum Central	10	9	market place	2/1
Omdurman	9	8	industrial area	3/4
East Diems	1	1	market place	3

* Class Type:
1 - planned development, upper class
2 - planned development, middle class
3 - planned development, lower class
4 - unplanned (squatter) poor
5 - unplanned (squatter) extremely poor

There were no previous expectations built into the selection of the study areas in terms of possible relationships between a particular function or location and for example, level of profit or problems encountered by the women food sellers. It was felt that a broad as possible sample of the places that women sold food at in terms of economic class, land use function and geographical dispersion throughout the city would ensure an accurate representation of the environments, conditions and number of women engaged in the activity throughout the city.

5.5.2 Indepth Interviews

Indepth interviews are an extremely important tool used within the participatory feminist research approach. The process for indepth interviews is based on the assumption that the person being interviewed possesses a wealth of knowledge about her life and experiences that are usually untappable by more structured methods such as the questionnaire. By providing a framework within which the person can speak freely about whatever issues or experiences that is of the most concern to her, a much greater understanding of the person's perspective can be reached.

Ten indepth interviews were conducted by the researcher and the two female interviewers. The refusal rate for the indepth interviews was much higher than that for the questionnaires, with approximately 41% of the women approached by the interviewers refusing. It was understood that either the women simply did not want to spend the time required for this interview, or that the women were not convinced that we were not government officials and were thus very fearful of showing us where they lived. In total, seventeen women were approached, with 10 assenting to the interview. The author and interviewers together chose one of the eight study areas to return to that evening and once there, we approached any woman until consent was given. The 10 women who consented were located in Saad Gishra, Khartoum South and East Diems.

The interviews were conducted in the women's homes because it was felt that: (1) in the privacy of their home and with a higher trust level, the women would be able to offer more indepth and perhaps more accurate information of the economic and logistical aspects of their work; (2) under casual conversation, different types of information could be gained; and (3) the interviewers could observe first hand, the living conditions and family life within the home.

The purpose of these interviews was to attempt come to a fuller understanding of the complexities of the relationships the women held with the food selling job, other food sellers, and their families. Specifically the information sought from these interviews included:

(1) why the woman was working and why she chose to be a food seller;

(2) whether an informal networking and support group existed among the food sellers; and

(3) whether her relationship to her family had in some way been altered because of her job.

A list of questions corresponding to these three topics was prepared, however, the interviewers were free to be as unstructured as they felt necessary to obtain the information sought. A copy of the indepth interview questions can be found in Appendix II. As mentioned, three of the women interviewed were constrained by the presence of male family members. However, the remaining 7 women were extremely helpful and offered valuable insights into their home and family life as well as their work as food sellers.

A major problem that was encountered by the researcher and field assistants was in timing the interview to correspond to the schedules of the women. Because of the difficulties in locating the individual homes of the women, the author and interviewers were obliged to wait in the study area until the women were ready to return home, at which time we walked home with the women. However, the women could not give specific times when they would leave the market place because they stayed until they had finished selling all of their food and the interviewers had to often wait many hours. Although this seemed to be daunting strategy, and it did not allow more than 1 or 2 interviews to be conducted in one evening, there was a positive side to these enforced waits. This time allowed the author and interviewers to be casual observers of the food sellers and the whole atmosphere of the study areas over a protracted period of time, and during the evening when the market places usually became very lively. (The questionnaire survey was being carried out entirely during the day). It also gave the author and interviewers much more relaxed time to talk about the research topic, as well as life in Khartoum in general. The author gained many insights into Neimat's and Inaam's feelings about women's rights in the Sudan. During one of these periods, an actual "kasha" or raid, which took place in Saad Gishra and the author and interviewers were able to observe the whole process of warning, packing up and flight. It was observed that shopkeepers and customers were sympathetic to the women. While most did not actively help the women, one or two shopkeepers did allow the women to hide their equipment in their shops.

Overall, the indepth interviews provided very valuable and complementary information about the women food sellers, and allowed the author glimpses of the women's more personal lives and feelings; information that was not obtained from the more structured questionnaire survey.

5.5.3 Government Interviews

Interviews were held with those government departments deemed to be involved with the informal food selling sector to: (1) identify each department's policies and regulatory controls in regards to the women food sellers; and (2) determine the attitudes held by each department about the food selling activity and women working. Interviews were held with:

1. Municipal Government:

   Batoul Mukhtar Mohammed Taha.
   Director of Research and Studies Unit

   Hassab El Rassool.
   Director of Khartoum District Council.

   Islah Hassan.
   Ministry of Social Welfare and Displaced Persons.

   Babiker Ahmed Babiker and Mohamed Ali Ahmed.
   Public Health Officers, Khartoum North Public Health Office.

   Clerical staff
   Khartoum South Health Centre.

2. Central Government:

   Mohamed El Bashir M. Kheir.
   Director of Labour Relations Directorate, Ministry of Labour.

   Sakina Mohammed El Hassan.

Head of Women's and Children's Administration Section, Ministry of Social Welfare and Displaced Persons.

These interviews were logistically difficult to obtain as many permission and reference letters were required before the officials agreed to participate. However, once the interviews were consented to, the officials were extremely helpful and provided detailed information as well as letters of references for further contacts in the various government offices which they felt would provide useful information.

5.5.4 Informal Discussions with Sudanese Women

Very informal discussions were held with Sudanese women who were met during the research process. These discussions were not in any way planned, but are included as a research technique in this thesis because the information obtained from these discussions helped the author understand more about the lives of Sudanese women within the Arabic, Islamic culture. As such, they represented an important aspect of the whole learning process that the author undertook in researching about the women food sellers.

5.5.5 Interviews with the Interviewers

After the questionnaire survey, indepth interviews and government discussions were completed, the three interviewers were themselves "interviewed". The interviewers were given a list of questions to answer on their own at home and their responses were discussed as a group, with the author noting the individual responses of each of the interviewers. It was felt that their impressions, insights and interpretations were an important aspect of the research process because of their daily contact with the food sellers. It was thus important that their reflections become an integral part of the final analysis. This discussion contributed information about the interview process such as whether or not they felt the women's information was honest, and how the interviewers themselves felt about the women, the food selling activity and the overall plight that the women faced in trying to work and survive. The interviewers were also asked what they felt the government position was and whether the government can or should do something for the women sellers. This discussion helped clarify aspects of the knowledge gained during the research process. It also called attention to the fact that although a team of researchers can work together closely throughout the process, each person will arrive at different perceptions and perspectives of the same topic. The discussion allowed the author to appreciate these varying viewpoints and to integrate them into her own understanding of the food selling activity. A copy of the interview can be found in Appendix III.

5.5.6 Personal Observation

The author took notes on a daily basis to ensure that what was seen every day would not merge into a blur of memories by the time she came to write the thesis. A daily diary was kept with notes about how many women were interviewed that day, the atmosphere of the study area, the moods of the author, the interviewers and of the women food sellers, difficulties or ease in approaching the women, and observations about the general activities of the women and their customers. These notes were integrated into the findings presented in Chapter Six, as well as in the analysis and discussion in Chapter Seven.

6.0 THE FINDINGS

The findings of the research shall be divided into four major parts in accordance with the overall goal of the thesis; to make visible the conditions of women in one space and environment of the world and the stated objectives of the thesis. In keeping with the second objective of the thesis; to document the characteristics of the food selling activity and of the women food sellers, the first and second parts will present the personal characteristics of the women food sellers and the basic characteristics of the food selling activity. The basic characteristics will be further separated into three areas: (1) economic aspects; (2) spatial and temporal patterns; and (3) issues and problems associated with food selling. The third major part will describe the women food sellers in relation to their social environment; their perceptions of life and how they have attempted to reconcile their home and family life with the food selling activity. In doing so, the findings will directly address the third thesis objective, which is to analyze the social, economic and political situation with respect to the food sellers to determine how their activities impact upon the social structure and family life and the overall quality of life for the women, and indirectly touch on the first objective related to the feminist geography analysis. Finally, again as part of the third objective, to analyze how the food selling activity is affected by the political context, the policy that is held by the government regarding the women food sellers will be outlined.

A note should be made here regarding the style used in the presentation of the findings and in the overall format of the thesis. The author has avoided the use of massive amounts of tables within the text of this chapter based on a belief that in addition to the presentation of the tables, descriptions and explanations must also be provided, resulting in an over abundance of repetitious information. Therefore, the author has chosen to describe the findings of the field research in written form. The reader is asked to refer to Appendix V, Tables 1 - 62 for survey data on the personal characteristics of the women food sellers and the basic characteristics of the food selling activity. In this chapter, the reader will be presented with a comprehensive overview of all of the different aspects of the food selling activity and of the women food sellers' personal characteristics, perceptions of life, and patterns of behaviour. Little attempt is made to provide a statistical analysis or interpretation of the information given. The chapter concludes with a summary which highlights the most important findings of the research. The integration of these findings into the analytical framework of the thesis is left to the final chapter.

6.1 Personal Characteristics of the Food Sellers

The ages of the women were quite varied, ranging from under 20 (22%), to over 60 (4%). The women's ages did not cluster around any particular age group, however, the majority of the women (86%) were under the age of 46.

Education levels for the women were very low, with 74% having no education at all, 11% having primary level education, 7.5% having attended Khalwa (Islamic religious instruction), and 7.5% having achieved some level of intermediate school.

The majority of women were married (54%), or had been married and were now divorced (14%) or widowed (11%). However, a fair proportion of women were also single (21%). These women were part of the under 20 age group. The husbands were generally older than their wives, with the majority (61%) being over 40 years. A large age gap between wives and husbands is normal in the Sudan because of the dowry system. It may take many years for some men to collect enough money to pay for a bride. Many men marry at the age of 35 or older, while women may marry as early as 14 years old. The high percentage of husbands over the age of 60 is an important observation. Given that their wives are younger and often have small children at home who must be cared for, there is still a need to provide food and money for education and other essential needs. However, at 60 years old, the men may be incapable of working anymore. Thus it is the women who bear the brunt of providing for the family.

Even the younger husbands, however, could not provide for their families because a large proportion (46%) of the husbands were unemployed, with the remaining working as wage labourers (39%), 14% working as petty traders in the informal sector, and 3% working as soldiers.

The women were asked if they still lived with their husbands. Forty per cent said they did, while 39% said that they did not. The most obvious reason for the latter response is accounted for by the finding that 62% of the women were divorced or widowed. However, seven (16%) of the women answered that they had been abandoned by their husbands who had married someone else. Two other women (5%) said that they had decided not to live with their husbands and had returned to their parent's house. Five women (10%) said that their husbands were living outside of Khartoum or the Sudan. This separation is a relatively common occurrence as men frequently emigrate to another country to work, usually to the Gulf States, while others migrate within the Sudan, usually to work as agricultural labourers.

All but 2 of the married women had children, the average number of children being 4.6 with a range of 1 to 10.

The majority of the women (80%) were born outside of Khartoum and had migrated to the city after 1960, with half coming between 1980 and 1990. The reasons for migration varied from famine and drought (26%), to follow their husbands who were looking or had a job (21%), for economic reasons (16%), for better services like water, food and education (9%), and to look for a job (11%). Most of the women migrated to Khartoum with their husbands or parents, but a significant percentage (23%) migrated alone, with or without children.

Asked what kind of health they thought they were in, the average rating for the women themselves was 1.33 (1 -good, 2-fair, 3 -poor), for their husbands, 1.6, for their children 1.34 and for their parents 1.63.

When the questionnaire was completed, the interviewers wrote down personal impressions about the women food sellers and of the conditions of the place in which the food sellers was working. It was interesting to note what the women themselves were "like", as well as their selling areas. A part of the food selling job, albeit an unspoken one, is that the women will be more "fortuitous" if they are young, attractive and clean. In other words, the more attractive the woman, the more customers she would attract. This aspect of the job was verbalized when on numerous occasions a woman would say that this was a shameful job because she had to be in the presence of so many strange men. The question, why should these women be so ashamed of this job when many other Sudanese women who worked outside of the home and were exposed to the company of many strange men did not feel shameful is one which produced much confusion for the author. However, it soon became apparent that this job was once a job that only prostitutes did as part of their job and thus, some of the food sellers felt that they were engaging in a form of prostitution.

Table 6.1 shows a summary of the observations made by the interviewers. While most of the women (65%) were apparently young looking, less than half of the women were seen to be each of the characteristics of "clean, wearing nice clothes, well-fed and cheerful". Additionally, a similar percentage also appeared to portray the negative characteristic of "tired looking". This would seem to be a contradiction to the theory that the women who were clean, young looking, etc, would be more fortuitous in their food selling activity. However, as will be discussed later on in this chapter, as well as in Chapter 7, this theory is proven to be unfounded. The women, in fact, put only the minimum amount of effort required into their work as food sellers and the author thus speculates that had other negative characteristics been included in the description, similar percentages patterns (or lack of patterns) would have been found.

Table 6.1
Interviewer Preceptions of the Personal Characteristics of the Women

Characteristic	Number Yes	No	Yes(%)
Young looking	69	37	65
Clean	42	64	39
Nice clothes	44	62	41
Talkative	40	66	37
Cheerful	41	65	38
Well fed	44	62	41
Tired looking	40	66	37

6.2 Basic Characteristics of the Food Selling Activity

6.2.1 Economic Aspects

The majority (57%) sold coffee and tea, while 40% sold kisra and stew. The women charged the highest prices for tea and coffee, probably due to the fact that these commodities as well as sugar are only available on the "black"[4] market. Half of the women bought their raw materials from the "black" market. It should be noted that because the "black" market is illegal, the women were even more vulnerable to government harassment.

Most of the women did not have any costs other than raw material purchase, after they had invested the initial capital to get started. Only 20% paid rent for the section of land or shop front that they operated from and only 5% of these women said that these rents were increasing. The average rent costs were reported as 28 Sudanese pounds[5] or about $3.00 (Cad) per day, with a skew towards 5 pounds or 50 cents per day.

Initial capital costs to get started in the food selling activity ranged from 75 pounds ($ 7) to 500 pounds ($50), with 49% of the women paying for these costs themselves, 17%

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[4] The word black is put in quotation marks because of the author's wish to be respectful of African and African-Canadian/American feelings about the use of black as a derogatory term. The author has been made aware that often black has been associated with things that are bad, or not as good as things that are white. One common example is the use of "black" sheep to describe the oddball, "out-of-sorts" member of the family.

[5] One Canadian dollar is approximately equal to 10 Sudanese pounds (1990).

receiving it from their husbands and the rest obtaining financial assistance from other relatives, especially their mothers, and from loans. It was never learned what the source of these loans were, though responses to whether they were from sandugs (informal women's rotating community funds) or from government social welfare grants, were answered negatively.

At one point, it was thought that the women changed selling locations, perhaps to take advantage of market demand forces. However, when queried, it was found that the women did not change locations at all during the day, and only 6% had changed locations throughout their years as food sellers. The primary reason for this permanency was the fact that many of the women (47%) chose their location because it was close to their home, which lessened both the time, and transportation costs.

Some of the women did receive assistance in their work. Thirty-six received assistance from a hired worker, 27% from their children, and 27% from another (adult) family member, usually their mother or sister.

The average profit received by the women on a daily basis was approximately 63 pounds ($6). However, this was "skewed" by one or two women who made substantially higher profits. A more representative picture of the profits made by the women can be seen by the breakdown of profits into 50 pound categories. It then becomes apparent that the vast majority of women (82.5%) made only between 1 and 50 pounds with a further 12.1% in the 51 to 100 pounds range. Only 5.4% made profits of greater than 100 pounds.

6.2.2 Spatial and Temporal Patterns

Spatial and temporal patterns of the food selling activity included questions dealing with transport to and from work, the location of the work place and their homes, and their daily schedule.

6.2.2.1 Transportation

The majority of the women, (68%) travelled to their selling location on foot, using a variety of means to transport their goods (44% by cart, 24% on their heads). Surprisingly, given the low profit margins of this work, 14% took taxis while a lower 11% took buses to work. The low use of buses may be due to the infrequency of service caused by severe fuel shortages, and the fact that buses do not run during the hours when the women need to go to work.

Close to 50% of the women chose their selling location because it was near to their home. This proximity would cut down on the costs of transportation, the time used in travel and therefore, the amount of time the women had to spend away from their families and home.

An attempt was made to document the location of the women's homes relative to the location they chose for selling food. Unfortunately, this aspect of the study was not well developed for a number of reasons. One, the women were fearful of exposing the whereabouts of their home and family, especially their children to strangers. Two, unless we accompanied each and every woman to their homes, it would have been impossible to pinpoint the exact location on the maps we had at our disposal[6].

6.2.2.2 Daily Schedule

In terms of daily schedules, the women were asked specific questions about when they started preparing the food, when they left home, how long it took for them to get to the selling location, how long they stayed there and what time they returned home.

Twenty-five per cent of the women started preparing the food at 4 in the morning, 23% at 5 am, 28% at 6 am and 20%

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[6] The actual residence of the women, and the reasons why they chose to make their home in certain areas of the city, however, were not considered to be central to the study. The residence of the women was only considered in relation to the womens' selection of the selling location and the reasons why these locations were chosen. However, if during the course of the questionnaire survey, marked differences between the economic and logistical characteristics of the food selling activity practiced in any of the eight study areas, for example, profit levels, or personal characteristics of the women were seen to exist, the reasons for these differences would have been investigated. Factors such as residential location, and the various cultural, tribal and economic variables involved with this factor would then have entered into the analysis of the study. Discussions with the Red Cresent Society and the Sudan Council of Churches showed that various squatter settlements were dominated by certain tribal groups. For example, Hag Yousiff had traditionally been settled by Western refugees whereas East Diems had a high population of long-time refugees from Nigeria and Chad, as well as an increasing population of Southern Sudanese refugees.

after 7 am. Four per cent started the night before. Most, (62%) left home between the hours of 5 am to 7 am and on average it would take them 32 minutes to reach their selling location, with some women taking as long as 2 hours. The average length of time the women stayed at the selling location was about 7 hours with a range of 1 to 18 hours. There was no way of verifying this seemingly high maximum. The women went home at times ranging from 9 am to 7 pm. Generally, the women started returing home around 1 pm. It would seem that most of the women catered to the lunch time market. The ones that went home after 5 pm probably catered to the tea break at 3 or 4 pm and supper around 5 or 6 pm. The majority (98%) of the women went home immediately after leaving the market place and did not make side trips to do shopping.

6.2.3 Issues and Problems

The kinds of problems that the food sellers experienced provides one with a sense of the conditions that surround the activity. The great majority of the women (88%) answered that they did encounter problems. Of these problems, "kashas" or government raids presented the most serious (33%), followed by the shortage of raw materials (22%), the high cost of raw materials (16%), male harassment (9%), customers complaining (8%) and other reasons (12%), such as the hot weather, and too much time away from home. The fact that kashas is perceived to be the biggest problem comes as no surprise.

The only way the woman can avoid these kashas, short of running for cover, is by having a license. However, as will be discussed later in the government policy findings, the food selling activity is illegal because of government food and beverage/water handling acts and is therefore non-licensable. To test whether or not this government policy was strictly enforced, and perhaps to see if there was an avenue open to the women in terms of gaining a legal, licensable status, the women were asked a number of questions. They were asked: (1) if they knew that they needed a license to work as food sellers; (2) if they had a license or not; (3) whether they had tried to get a license; (4) if so, did they have any problems trying to get one; and (5) if so, what were these problems. Only 38% of the women said that they knew that they needed a license to sell food to the public, while not surprisingly, only 8.5% said that they had a license. It should be noted that the women may have said that they had a license because they feared the interviewers were government officials who would fine them if they admitted they did not have one.

It was important to find out if the government really did issue them a license and if so, whether there was a "soft spot" in the bureaucracy which could be used to the women's advantage. All of the 20 women (19%) who had tried to get a license said that they had problems in obtaining one. The type of problems they had included: government refusal (66%), no shop or "place" (20%), high cost (7%), and no transport (7%). The first two problems of government refusal and no shop or "place" are actually one in the same, as will be seen in the government policy section. Briefly, government policy is that it is not the woman who has to be licensed, but the place of business. This emphasis on "place" is because food handling regulations require that regular inspections are conducted to ensure that standards of hygiene are being maintained. If there is no place, then government officials will refuse to issue a license. Since the very nature of the food selling activity is its informality and lack of infrastructural support, the women do not have much hope of obtaining a license.

As for the last two reasons of no transport and high cost, a mission by the author and Nadir to obtain a license was conducted in order to truly understand how difficult the process really was. Following is a story of the difficulties experienced in trying to get a license.

> Starting out completely uninformed of the procedure, we first we went to the District Office Headquarters in Khartoum North to inquire as to the process. There we were directed to another office, a one hour walk away where we were given what I thought was the application forms for a license. However, the forms ended up being guidelines given to food handler workers (restaurant owners, vegetable kiosks, and grocery shops) who need to build or renovate their stores before they apply for a license. We actually never did get a license application form, but we then learned that before

> one could apply for a license, one had to first get a health card certifying that the person was medically fit and "clean" (free of infectious diseases). We went to one of the health centres, but in Khartoum South, because no one could tell us where the centre was in Khartoum North. (We had to take a taxi there.) Once there we had good luck, securing an application for a health card immediately. However, we then learned that we had to go to a medical station where we could have a medical examination done, at which time we would have the card stamped and we could either leave the card at the station to be authorized at a later date, or we could bring the card back to the first medical centre ourselves and have it authorized immediately. In the end, we did not get a license and we chose not to go to the place where medical examinations were done. I must admit that the finer points of most of the exchanges went past me. I depended solely upon the translations and explanations of Nadir, the male interviewer. Thus, the experience was much more frustrating for me than for Nadir or would have been, I suppose for other Sudanese people. However, after many hours on two separate days, Nadir threw up his arms in exasperation and exclaimed, "how can any poor woman expect to get a license if we, who can use taxis cannot"! I agreed wholeheartedly. In Appendix VII and VIII, the findings of our mission; some sample criteria for the granting of licenses to food handlers, and a copy of the medical card for food handlers, are given.

6.2.4 Relationships Between Personal and Basic Characteristics

Uncovering the personal and basic characteristics of the women food sellers and the food selling activity was motivated primarily by the research objective; to gain an accurate understanding about the food selling activity and the lives of the women food sellers within their overall economic, social, cultural and political environment. The author was also motivated by a private (and admittedly First World crusading) desire to uncover any possible way that the women could be helped to help themselves. For example, the author needed to answer such questions as could the women do anything to help themselves obtain higher profits? Could the women avoid some of the problems they encountered by doing something different i.e., change locations, dress better, etc? Did the women's age have something to do with either their profit levels, or the type and amount of problems they encountered? Thus a number of speculations were made by the author about possible relationships between certain personal characteristics of the women and certain basic characteristics of the food selling activity. These speculations included[7]:

(1) The age of the food seller and the level of profit (Table 65);

(2) The personal appearance of the food seller and the profit level (Table 66);

(3) The location of the food seller and the profit level (Table 67);

(4) The personal appearance of the food seller and vulnerability to kashas (Table 74); and

(5) The age of the food seller and vulnerability to kashas and male harassment (Table 75).

This list of possible relationships does not by any means represent the full number of speculations made by the author, but rather, represents those speculations deemed to be important by the author, keeping in mind the specific objectives of the thesis. With the use of a computer programme[8], every possible relationship between the individual variables encompassed within the women's lives and the food selling activity was cross referenced (see Appendix VI). However, despite the fact that four possible relationships (see Tables 73, 78, 89 and 101; Appendix VI) were found, in most cases, no patterns between any given variables were apparent.

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[7] Please see Appendix VI; references to specific tables are given here.

The overwhelming impression reached by the author, thus, was that the food selling activity was very much an activity generated by the sole reason of a need to work to survive. The women's patterns of behaviour reflected a strategy which allowed them to earn whatever money was possible with the absolute minimum level of effort given. The author came to understand that most of the women, if offered ways to help themselves improve the performance of food selling activity, would refuse because of the survival nature of both the women's lives, and of the food selling activity.

6.3 The Women Food Sellers and their Social Environment

6.3.1 The Women's Choices and Perceptions

Questions were asked to try and uncover the motivation aspects of the food selling activity. Forty-one per cent of the women answered that they became food sellers because there was no other work available to "women like them"; this phrase having two meanings, one, that the skills that they had only opened up this kind of job for the women, and two, that as women, not many kinds of jobs were available to them. Thirty-five per cent answered that they did this job because of family need, meaning that their family income was too low to support the family. Twelve per cent answered that the job was good because it had flexible hours, meaning that they could decide not to work certain days so that they could then take care of sick children, for example and not be fired. Only 3% answered that they actually liked this kind of work.

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[8] R BASE

The women were asked if they would continue working in this job. Seventy-three per cent answered positively for reasons of: no other job (28%), for the children (26%), for the income (24%) and for the independence (22%). It can be seen that the reasons why they would continue were all related to the necessity to make money to take care of the family. The independence reason was not pursued in detail although a related question, of whether the women kept the earnings of their job for themselves or whether they had to turn it over to someone else (i.e., husband), indicated that all of the married women kept the earnings and spent it as they saw fit, (always on the family). Only the single women did not keep their earnings, turning them over to their parents. Thus independence was probably a more significant factor in why the women continued working than is evidenced in the results.

The most important reason for not continuing in the food selling activity was because of the low profit margins provided by the job (47%). Thirty-nine per cent said that harassments, both government and male harassment, would be enough to make them stop food selling, and 7% said that the little time the work gave them to be with their families was an important factor. An additional 7% said the work was too degrading.

An effort was made to determine whether the women actually enjoyed their work or whether it was, as the author theorized, work which was done only for the survival income it afforded the women and their families. While half the women said they did not enjoy this work, the other half said that they did. When the reasons for their responses were offered, however, it could be seen that in fact "enjoyment" was a indistinct concept, inappropriate to the realities of the subsistence patterns of their lives. For example, of the women that answered yes, they enjoyed the job, the reasons given included: "no other job" (46%), "to feed family" (39%), and "no harassments" (2%). These do not represent feelings of enjoyment, but more reasons why they will continue to sell food, ie survival.

The reasons why the women did not enjoy the work also indicated the inappropriateness of the concept of "enjoyment". These reasons included: "hard work" (40%), no profit (30%), harassment (12%), hot sun (12%), degrading work (3%), and no transport (3%).

In response to the question, when and why did you start doing this job, 30% answered recently (within the last year), in response to economic conditions. The next largest category was during the time of Nimery's rule which was from 1969 to 1985. During this period there was a long drought in western Sudan (Kordofan and Darfur), forcing many families to migrate to Khartoum. Before this time it was mostly the men who migrated looking for work while the women and families stayed behind in the rural areas to farm. Once in Khartoum, it became necessary for the women, who normally farmed in the rural areas, to contribute to the wage earnings of the family. It was thought that this question would reveal a pattern for explaining when these women began to work, whether due to environmental conditions or because they were divorced and widowed and therefore had no husband to take care of them. However, no real pattern emerged.

Questions about the perceptions the women held about their lives were asked to assess their overall state of mental well-being and concept of self-worth; to see if they were satisfied with life in Khartoum or whether they desperately wanted to go back to their rural homelands.

The women were asked if they would go back home if conditions in Khartoum became worse. Most were unsure, and did not appear to have even considered the possibility of returning home. Thirty-two replied that they would not because conditions were worse back home than in Khartoum. Considering the often appalling conditions the women lived and worked in Khartoum, the extent of environmental degradation in the rural areas must be absolutely horrendous. Only 17% said that they would return home.

To find out why the women came to Khartoum, and why they would not go home, the women were asked if they felt that life had improved since coming to Khartoum and if so, in what ways. Forty-seven per cent said that life had improved since coming to Khartoum because more food was available (44%), services and goods were more available (29%), and schools existed for their children (21%). Thirty-three per cent, however, felt that living conditions had declined since coming to Khartoum. This was because life in the city was harder (30%), they missed their home and families (19%), the housing situation in the city was desperate (18%), they could not keep any animals (14%), there was very little personal security (10%), they felt the city was a bad place for their children to live (3%), and they did not like the harassment they received from strange men (3%).

Thus it can be seen that the life choices and the perceptions of the women reflect the context in which they live. Severe environmental degradation in their rural homelands led to the loss of their traditional agricultural lifestyle and have now placed them within the context of a foreign urban existence, where, even though food and water are more available, the families' survival, is not guaranteed.

6.3.2 Reconciling Work and Family

Much of the information about the family context of the women food sellers came from the indepth interviews with 10 women. These interviews allowed the interviewers to enter into the private home of the women and to observe the relations between the women and their husbands, children and parents. It also allowed the author to see first hand the conditions of poverty the women lived with, and what the women came home to "after a hard day's work". Even in this space, however, the women were not "free". Their husbands and other adult male family members usually sat around and a few of the women seemed to assume the same shielded, unresponsive look that the interviewers encountered with women harassed out in the market places by the crowds of men and boys watching the interviews. The indepth interviews were designed to obtain more personal information about the women and the food selling activity. The reason why the women chose food selling rather than any other activity, the ways in which the women dealt with the dual roles of working and family care, and if this role as a "working woman" affected or changed relationships to husbands and family.

Most of the women decided to start working because they had no money and they needed to support their children. This was because either their husbands or parents had died, or their husband's income was too low. They chose the food selling job because: (1) they had no education; (2) there was no other job available to women, (3) they had another job but it paid too little to survive on; (4) they wanted to spend time with their children and selling from the home allowed them to do this; (5) they felt selling food was an easy job, but that now because there were so many raids and because raw materials were getting too costly, they felt it was a hard job; and (6) their mothers were food sellers and encouraged them to do the same.

In terms of reconciling the food selling job with family life, most of the women said that when they went home they took care of the normal family obligations: looking after the children, cleaning and washing. Then they prepared the food for the next day's work. One woman said that her husband helped her and two others said their children helped prepare the food. It seemed that the food selling job simply added another burden onto the women and they dealt with this burden by working longer hours to complete both family and work obligations without substantial help from other family members.

If and how the relationships between the women and their husbands and family changed was impossible to gauge. The women did not volunteer any information about any problems they might be experiencing with their husbands, and there was simply no way of asking the women without severely overstepping lines of respect and dignity.

The reason why the women faced and said that they would continue the daily struggle of food selling, despite the ever increasing problems of kashas, possibilities of jail, male harassment and extremely hard work, was simple. They wanted to provide enough money to educate their children so that they could have a better life. Most of the women also hoped that their children would eventually be able to take care of them so that they could stop working and stay at home.

As was the case for information related to the basic characteristics of the food selling activity, the author also made speculations as to possible relationships between the personal characteristics of the women and how they reconciled their work with their family life. Speculations were made about the possible relationships between[9]:

1. Their marital status and if they wanted to work or not (Table 82);
2. Their marital status and if they had control over the earnings they made from food selling (Table 83);
3. Their marital status and if they chose the location to sell at because it was near to their home (Table 84);

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[9] The detailed presentation of these findings can be found in Appendix VI with reference to the specific tables given above.

4. Whether they had children and if they chose the selling location because it was near to their home (Table 85);
5. The number of children they had and if they chose the location because it was near to their home (Table 86);
6. If they have children and how long they stay at the selling location (Table 89);
7. Their marital status and how long they will stay at the selling location (Table 90); and
8. If they have children and what time they leave home to go to the selling location (Table 92).

Each of these relationships, except that between having children and the length of time spent at the selling location (# 6) were found to be "negative". The importance of this one apparent relationship is difficult to gauge given its isolation within all of the other possible relationships. For the author, the relative lack of patterns between variables again demonstrated the survival nature of this work. The women based their decisions about working strictly on need for income and for the most part, did not waver in their daily schedule or choice of location because of their home situations. Basically, the women are trapped in a poverty situation where very limited options are available to them in terms of work and income. The women handled the double burden of work and family, for the most part, alone.

6.3.3 Informal Networking Amongst the Food Sellers

It was speculated that in order to reduce the work load of food selling, that the women would, on a very informal basis, form networks between themselves. Thus some of the jobs such as buying the raw materials from the market place, or finding locations where the most customers come, or helping when kashas were eminent could be spread around in situations of mutual help. However, there did not seem to be any kind of networking amongst the food sellers. The responses to questions asking if they received help from other food sellers in choosing a location, in buying raw materials, in paying fines or escaping "kashas", or in getting bailed out of jail were all negative. However, personal observations in the selling locations, showed that the women did extend assistance to each other on a day-to-day basis. They looked after each others goods if one had to leave, they watched so that each others materials did not get stoles, they sometimes lent each other glasses or washed glasses and bowls out for each other. In addition, customers, shop owners and food sellers were always on the look out for public health inspectors and once spotted alerted all of the food sellers. Shop owners even allowed food sellers to stow their equipment in their shops until the danger had passed and food sellers helped each other to pack up and flee. While the food sellers did not perceive or recognize that an informal network between the food sellers did exist, the author observed that one, however, informal, did in fact exist. It was also seen that the food sellers were supported further by customers and other legal shop keepers against the authorities. Thus, some sense of an enabling environment for the food sellers was apparent.

6.4 Government Policy

The key issue with respect to government policy is licensing and legality. Food selling is illegal and unlicensable because of the Environmental Protection Act of 1975, which specifies standards of hygiene for any person engaged in the handling of food or water. Such persons must be examined medically and obtain a health card to prove that they are "clean". The place of business, ie restaurant or kiosk must also be examined on a yearly basis to ensure it meets the prescribed standard of hygiene. It can then be licensed.

For food selling, the place of preparation and the place of selling are spatially separated. The women prepare the food in their homes. The public health inspectors say that this is unacceptable; that even if hygiene standards could be maintained, that the inspectors could not possibly gain access to the homes of the women, first to complete the initial inspection and then to conduct the subsequent annual inspections.

The fact that the activity is part of the so called informal sector did not seem to be an issue with the government in terms of licensing. Government attitudes towards the informal sector in the Sudan does not seem to have reached the adversary stage that is obviously in for example, Kenya. The attitude to the informal sector by officials was on the whole, positive, with a recognition that the informal sector could make substantial contributions to the economic development of the country. The International Labour Organization of the United Nations has worked in conjunction with the Ministry of Labour to develop a strategy for the integration for the informal sector into the formal economy of the Sudan.

Given traditional attitudes about the proper role of women, and the usual non-recognition of the need that women need to work to help support their families, it was speculated whether or not the possibility of legalizing the food selling activity was influenced by the fact that the food sellers were primarily women. However, only one off-hand statement was made by one of the public health inspectors about the fact that women should remain at home instead of working. None of the other government officials interviewed expressed this view, and in fact sympathized with the plight of the women and recognized that they had no other alternative but to work. Mr. El Rassool, Director of Khartoum District Council said that personally he always "looked the other way" when he saw women food sellers.

However, official government policy states that the food selling activity is illegal, that it will never be licensable and thus the women will continue to be subject to harassment.

Presently, the only government office concerned about the women and attempting to provide assistance to them is the Social Welfare and Displaced Persons Department of the municipal government. From discussions with Ms. Islah Hassan, head of this Department, it was learned that a study of petty traders, which included women food sellers, had been carried out in August of 1989. The study showed that the numbers of women food sellers had increased since the early 1980's, and the women who dominated the activity were women from the western provinces of Dardur and Kordofan. This was of course, a result of the ever worsening conditions of drought and famine in those areas, causing increasing numbers of people to migrate to urban centres. The study also showed that soem of the women were "second generation" food sellers. In other words, the mothers of the present food sellers were either still working as a food seller, or that they had in the past and had subsequently encouraged their own daughters to sell food to support their families.

Various recommendations came out of this study. The study recommended that because the women have no other alternative, it will be impossible to get rid of the activity altogether. Instead, the government should make an attempt to understand the circumstances which force the women, especially the younger women, to work at an illegal job. Attempts should be made to help the women already working as food sellers, and to divert future women workers into other types of income generating work. The Ministry of Social Welfare and Displaced Persons had previously sought to help the women food sellers by handing out small grants to them, with the intention that these grants would decrease overhead costs (such as raw materials) and generally alleviate their hardships. However, the Ministry found that the women tended to simply stop working for a week, or for as ever long as the grant money would last, at which time they would either start working again, or return back to the Ministry office for a further grant. The Ministry felt that this was an improper use of their money and thus the grants were stopped. The Ministry began to look at different ways in which to assist the women to earn enough income to provide for their families. In general, the Ministry was considering two approaches. The first approach was to help the women in the food selling job by, for example, providing small shelters in the market for the women to sell from. Though it was unclear as to whether these shelters would be licensable, the Ministry felt that it was positive step in achieving a licensable position. The Ministry also felt that by distributing these shelters around the city, and by setting a limit for the number of women that could use each shelter, overcrowding and subsequent low levels of profit for individual women could be avoided. This approach, however, was not a concrete programme and no shelters had as yet been built. The second approach was to fund "family production projects", which provided women with education, job skills training, such as sewing and poultry raising, and capital investment to start their own income generating projects. This programme had already been undertaken. However, a small budget limited the number of women that could be assisted by the programme. Overall, Ms. Islah Hassan expressed a concern that her office simply could not do much for the women food sellers.

In summary, government policy towards the women food sellers is somewhat ambiguous. While the higher levels of the municipal authorities do not seem overly concerned about the existence of the food sellers, public health officials are strongly opposed to such an activity and are enforcing kashas vigorously as a means of terminating the food selling activity. By contrast, the Ministry of Social Welfare and Displaced Persons is genuinely concerned for the women's welfare and have attempted to implement projects aimed at increasing the income generating potential of the women. They are, however, hamstrung by inadequate funding.

6.5 Summary of the Findings

The combination of the six field research techniques provided the author with a wealth of information about the women food sellers, the food selling activity, the social environment in which the women carried out their daily activities, and the overall political context and government attitudes towards the women and the food selling activity.

It was found that the women were basically uneducated with very few skills or options available to them to improve their life situation. Most were, or had been married and had dependent children. Because of their husband's absence or state of employment (underemployed or unemployed) the women were very much involved in the generation of the family income, and were often the sole breadwinner. The bulk of the women had moved away from drought and famine conditions in their rural homelands and were not expecting to return. There seemed to be a sense of resignation that life would not improve much for the women themselves, however, they expressed a belief that the lives of their children might be better, in large part, due to their activities as a food seller.

Though it was thought that the food selling activity would be like a real job in the sense that the women who engaged in it would have to have a few "qualifications" in order to be successful, this theory proved to be unfounded. Women who were young, clean, wore nice clothes, were talkative, and cheerful did not receive any greater profits than women who were not.

It was found that food selling was very much a subsistence activity where the women kept costs, both initial investment and overheads, to a bare minimum. There was very little knowledge of, or attempt to take advantage of market forces of supply and demand to increase profits. Indeed, as seen by the relationship between location and profit (Table 67, Appendix VI) the women would not have increased their profits by changing locations. At any rate, the women would have been unwilling to move around or venture further from their chosen location because they did not want to spend more time or money on transportation than they already did, nor be further away from their families than necessary. The majority of the women made between 1 and 50 pounds per day. The women carried out their job with little assistance from the rest of their families, and most often had to attend to the normal household chores once they returned home, as well as prepare for the next day's food selling needs. Thus the daily schedule of the women was often long, with many of the women getting up at 4 in the morning to start preparing the food, leaving the house between 5 and 7, and returning home after up to 7 hours at the selling location.

Learning about the daily schedule of the women food sellers was a very important aspect of the research. It showed that the women put a great amount of effort into the job with very small returns. The women often spent 5 to 12 hours selling their food at the market place. But beyond this, they often spent 2 to 4 hours preparing the food at home, as well as completing the domestic work they had to do in the home. Thus, even though these women may be earning enough money to feed their families, they have little or no leisure time and much less time with their families.

The women food sellers experienced many problems while engaging in their work. Kashas was the worst of these problems, followed by finding and buying the raw materials needed for the preparation of food, and customer harassment. Most of the women did not have licenses. Indeed, the nature of the food selling activity precludes the ability of the women to obtain a license. Thus, they were very vulnerable to the public health inspector raids that were carried out sporadically, but constantly. The author's mission to assess the possibilities of obtaining a license showed that short of a great amount of money, time, as well as transport, it would have been impossible for the women to obtain a license.

Any speculation that the women's personal appearance or age; good looks, nice clothes, and generally a positive disposition might increase their immunity to kashas or other types of problems proved unfounded.

Despite the harsh working conditions, poor profits, and constant problems with kashas, the majority of the women said that they would continue to work as food sellers. Food selling was the only job available to them as unskilled, uneducated women, and the family need was high. Very few actually enjoyed the work. A sense of resignation to a continually harsh life was reflected in the women's perceptions of life choices. Severe environmental degradation in their rural homelands had destroyed any sense of normal family and cultural life, and the women were resigned to their new lives in Khartoum, where at least food and water were available.

The family context of the food selling activity, and the type or amount of change that came about because the women engaged in this type of work was difficult to assess. For the most part, the women's roles, as mother, wives, and domestic managers of the household remained unchanged. The women carried out these activities in addition to the food selling activities, with very little assistance from their families and seemingly none from their husbands. Attempts to uncover any patterns or insights about this social and familial context through cross referencing of information uncovered by the indepth interviews and questionnaires proved fruitless. However, although for the most part, no specific patterns or causal relations could be found between, for example, marital status or number of children and the location chosen for selling, or the length of time spent at the selling location, it was understood that although income was the motivating factor for undertaking the food selling activity in the first place, underlying the decisions made by the women on the spatial and temporal patterns of their daily schedule, was the need to consider the welfare and needs of the family and household. Thus, income and the family and household, were inseparable parts of the cycle of needs, motivation, work and profit that the women carried out on a daily basis.

Preliminary analysis of questions related to the existence of an informal network amongst the women food sellers seemed at first to be negative. In the sense of a "formal" informal network to which newcomers could be referred in order to obtain help in starting up, or in obtaining money for paying fines and getting out of jail, a support network certainly did not exist. However, it was discovered that fellow food sellers, customers, and surrounding shopkeepers did in various ways, help the women in small ways; watching over "stalls" for each other, lending bowls and cups, and most importantly, in avoiding kashas. Thus, the environment which the women worked in, although harsh in terms of heat, dust, strange, harassing men, and low profits, and for the most part solitary, was not entirely hostile.

Official government policy seemed to exist at two different levels. At one level, the attitude toward the food sellers was one of benevolence and even sympathy whereby the officials recognized the conditions the women lived in and their need to work in order to survive. Thus, though legislation dictated that the activity is illegal, these government officials were very willing to "turn a blind eye" to the women. However, at the lower government level, that of the public food inspectors, the attitude was one of opposition and confrontation. Kashas are carried out with some enthusiasm and in many cases, represent an opportunity for the health officials to pocket money received from fines.

Questions about the exact amount of the fine levied on the food sellers, were never directly answered by the public health officials, and the women's answers indicated that the amount could be anywhere from 10 pounds to 300 pounds. The author thus theorized that because of this absence of "bookkeeping", the public health officials had the unofficial freedom to levy any amount deemed reasonable, turn over some amount to the proper authorities, and pocket the rest. This would explain some of the enthusiasm with which the kashas were carried out.

It would seem that the situation of the women sellers could go either of two ways and that it is very much dependent upon government attitudes towards both the informal sector and towards the proper role of women. If the government was convinced that the informal sector was a burden to the economic development of the country, all such activities could then be subject to strict controls. However, if the potential contributions of the informal sector could be highlighted, the government may invite measures which would improve the efficiency of such activities and in doing so vastly improve the living conditions of a huge number of urban dwellers. Simultaneously, if government attitudes towards women change from leniency within the interpretations of Islamic law to hardline fundamentalism, the women food sellers could become the target for fundamentalist reprisals against women.

7.0 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

This chapter will be divided into two main parts; the first which addresses the second and third objectives of this thesis, and discusses the findings produced from the case study of the women food sellers, and the second, which focuses on the first objective, that of assessing the contributions this case study can make to the field of feminist geography.

7.1 The Main Findings

The job of selling food, prepared or raw, is a universal occupation for women in many developing countries. It forms a part of the informal sector and supports many women and their families who, without its income, would live in even more extreme poverty. Very little research has been done on this informal sector activity, and particularly on the women who engage in it. The women, their needs, and the problems that they face, have been ignored by international aid and development projects and have been harmed by government policy. It is apparent that these women, and women like them throughout the cities of developing countries will continue to work and sell food despite official government policy which finds them illegal, and regardless of how many times they are fined or even thrown in jail. It remains that their job is one motivated by pure survival.

In the following discussion, eight main findings resulting from the case study of the women food sellers, will be presented and discussed. Of these eight findings, the first five can be seen to be supportive of much of the literature already in evidence from other studies on women in the informal sector such as those of Nelson (1978, 1988), Bujra (1978), Stichler (1976), White (1980), Smock (1981), Beneria (1981), and the UN Survey (1989). The three remaining findings may however provide new insights into the area of women in the informal sector and would provide very promising and useful grounds for further research.

The first supportive finding shows that for the most part, the women food sellers were unskilled, uneducated, most often married with small dependent children and unemployed, underemployed, or absent husbands, and thus were the major if not sole breadwinner of the family. This does not contradict any of the past studies on women in the informal sector, and continues to underlie the importance, and indeed the urgency of understanding and providing assistance to the women participating in the informal sector.

Secondly, the types of jobs open to women in the Sudan, as was found by Nelson (1978, 1988) in Kenya were found to be concentrated in the traditional "women's occupations" related to the provision of food, drink, health care, child care, clerical work, and sex-companionship. These jobs, as was documented by Nelson (1978, 1988) suffer from a larger degree of isolation, instability, and low pay as compared to male type occupations. With the ever-increasing numbers of female rural-urban migrants, the overall lack of jobs available to poor urban women is even more significant.

Thirdly, for the food sellers, again, as there is for almost every woman around the world who finds herself destitute and without a job or viable skills to support herself and family, and without shelters and institutions to help her, there was always the danger of having to fall into prostitution. The activity of tea and coffee selling, which, as mentioned, was usually part of the services prostitutes provided, seemed to accentuate the threat for the food sellers. Because of Islamic belief, there was an additional shame attached to the necessity of placing themselves in the company of strange men in public places while engaging in their work. Yet for the most part, the women said that they would continue in this line of work. The two major reasons they chose this work, again supported the results of other studies: the women desperately needed to earn money for their families and this job was one of the very few that was available to "women like themselves", and the job was flexible enough so that the women could simply not work one day or another in case their children or husbands needed their assistance.

Fourthly, nothing that the women did: wore new clothes, kept themselves clean, appeared cheerful or talkative, affected in any way, the profits made on a day to day basis. The job was strictly one of subsistence with very low profit margins, and the women made little effort to invest any more than what was absolutely necessary. The author suspects that even if it was shown that by dressing well or keeping an "attractive feminine appearance" increased the profits made by the food sellers, given the element of shame already attached to the activity, that the women would have very negative and conflicting feelings about this.

The fifth finding is related to the fact that women received very little assistance from family members, and seemingly none from their husbands, save that the women were not forbidden to work outside the home.

The following three findings of the case study are ones not documented or discussed by previous studies on women in the informal sector. First, it was found that the food selling job, like many of the jobs women do, was characterized by extremely low incomes, miserable working conditions, and isolation. Networking or "unionizing" between the women was not formally practised. However, an enabling and not hostile atmosphere was present in some of the market places where the women worked. This finding has not so far been in evidence in the past literature on women in the informal sector and would provide both an important line of query for future research, as well as, this author suspects, a possible method of improving the conditions and lives of women engaged in food selling and perhaps the informal sector in general. If women can be persuaded to form formal networks, these can perhaps be used as vehicles for making these women visible, and for influencing and changing potentially harmful government policy. However, it is also recognized that because the activity is illegal, very formal organization would be met with strong resistence from the authorities.

Second, like the studies of women's activities in the informal sector in Kenya, the rapid growth of the informal sector, and the rapid infusion of women in the informal sector, is due to massive migration to the city stemming from overpopulation and severe environmental degradation in the rural areas. However, unlike these studies, this research looked at women living and working within a much more restrictive cultural and social environment where the laws of Islam have a strong influence on the lives of the women; where social spaces for single women are non-existent, and where a strict division between private spheres in which women can move about freely, and public spheres where women are not to be seen, is strongly encouraged. However, because of intensifying deterioration of rural and urban environmental and economic conditions, women who engage in informal sector activities are contravening these gender-based boundaries, and are, with their presence in market places, street corners, bus depots, and industrial areas, changing the face of gender-spaces within the Sudanese culture. The long term implications of these changes, imposed on society by broader political, economic and environmental circumstances, and created by the decisions and work of thousands of women are difficult to gauge. However, they provide yet another intriguing and important line of query for future research.

The third finding is related to the government's position on the women food sellers. It was seen that the government was split into two somewhat opposing camps. The higher level officials preferred to turn a blind eye to the women's food selling activity and recognized that because of the worsening economic and environmental conditions within the country, that the women would probably starve if they were not allowed to practice this illegal activity. On the other hand, the lower level officials vigourously enforced the official government policy related to food handling regulations and posed a constant threat to the women.

At a another level, which simultaneously relates to the food selling activity as part of the informal sector, and to women's proper place within an increasingly fundamentalist Islamic society, the government is again of two minds. At one level, the Government of Sudan has been, if not supportive of the informal sector, certainly not as antagonistic as for example, the Kenyan government, which views the informal sector, and the informal sector workers who bother the tourists on the streets, as detrimental to the image of Kenya, and thus to the all important tourist trade. With the support of the ILO, the Sudanese government has partly recognized the importance of the informal sector for the well-being of their stagnating economy and may even develop linkages between the formal and informal sectors. However, at another level, the government has started applying increasingly fundamentalist Islamic policies, the continued imposition of Sharia law, and with it, the restriction of women into the private space and limitation of women's participation in the public sphere: in university, jobs and political participation. Thus, the women food sellers seem to be the object of a double backlash; as part of the informal sector, and as women within an Islamic society. This, again would provide stimuli for further research. Like the women in Kenya and other non-Islamic countries, the women food sellers must deal with constraints related to the overall lack of jobs available to women, and the necessities of juggling children and home with work over time and space, but unlike these women, the food sellers in the Sudan have stepped beyond very fundamental Islamic beliefs about the proper place and space for women in order to survive. The effects that their activities are having on the face of societal, gender relations in the Sudan need to be addressed. It is possible that their role changes will have significant impacts on their childrens', especially their daughters', conceptions of gender relationships and women's roles in the family and society.

From the foregoing findings, it can be seen that the case study produced a wealth of insights about the lives of the women food sellers; the ways in which the women's lives are caught, ever so tightly, within a myriad of economic, social, political and cultural constraints, and the possibilities the women have to improve their lives within this environment. The following section will provide a synopsis of the author's understanding of this environment in which the women food sellers live and work.

The informal sector in the Sudan, as in the rest of the developing world, absorbs up to 60 per cent of the urban labour force population. It literally fills the bellies of those people who lack the skills, the good fortune, or both, to secure a job in the modern or formal economy. Studies have shown that the modern economy in many of the developing countries suffers from high production costs and low capacity levels, and that major constraints such as lack of capital investment, inadequate infrastructural linkages and poor use of domestic resources severely hinders its development and modernization. Indications show that as the modern economy shrinks in response to economic depression and recession on a global basis, the increasingly exploitive economic trade relations between developed and developing countries, and the environmental and political circumstances within the Sudan which enforces the constant and ever increasing migrations of rural dwellers to overcrowded cities, the informal sector will grow in size, and increase in importance.

The vast, and in most cases, severely underemployed labour force which forms the informal sector represents a significant untapped human and economic resource which, if integrated into the mainstream economy of the Sudan, could provide a tremendous impetus for the country's development. With small-scale, localized investment and financial credit, education and training programmes, extension of protective labour legislation, the provision of a licensing policy and other health and welfare benefits, the capacity of the informal sector, and many of the problems presently hindering the productive abilities of the labour force, could effectively be mitigated. In return, a government taxation policy, applied appropriately, represents a vast source of previously unknown revenue to fuel government development programmes. Currently, the Government of the Sudan, as in most developing countries, seems to regard the informal sector, as a blight, usually to be ignored, but at times to be eradicated. However, as the sheer size of the sector increases, and even threatens to overtake the formal sector, the government appears to be accepting the inevitable necessity that a strategy must be developed to integrate the formal and informal sectors and to utilize both in the development of the country. Meanwhile, the informal sector will continue in its role as the only means of survival for a great many people. Within this population, women will form a majority.

Yet women, for various socio-cultural factors, also form the most unskilled and uneducated population of workers and additionally have much fewer options (than men) open to them in terms of "gender-acceptable" types of informal sector activities. At the same time, traditional attitudes refuse to accept the fact that women are increasingly becoming equal if not sole breadwinners of more and more families and that these women are in dire need of the kind of support that men, working in exploitive conditions, with low pay and long hours have always struggled for, (with the support of their wives and families) and demanded. However, support to women, the kind of support needed by working women (rather than housewives and mothers) has not been much in evidence. And unlike men who can nearly always count on their wives to support them on a personal level, women, for reasons related to threatening role reversal, pride, as well as a lack of networking amongst themselves, are often deprived of the personal, family support which carries broken spirits and tired bodies from day to day. The food selling activity illustrates only too well the lack of support which typically surrounds women's work.

During the questionnaire survey, in one location (Suq Libya) two male food sellers were observed selling food alongside the women food sellers. These men sold the same food but had put up a rough stall to sell from. Casual conversation with them revealed that both had licenses and were not disturbed by kashas. Additionally, their profit level was much higher than that of the women. The fact that the men were able to sell food without hinderance suggests that the main reason for opposing food selling by women may not be as is usually asserted, i.e., for health reasons, but because the activity of food selling is not seen as an appropriate activity for women, or, that (paid) work in general, is not seen as an appropriate activity for women.

There seems to be no simple solution for improving the lives of the women food sellers for a number of reasons. First, there would be a problem of obtaining enough capital to finance such an investment. The women had a difficult enough time pulling together enough money to buy the equipment they currently possessed. External sources of finance, such as bank credit, grants from Islamic finding agencies, or from the government are limited, if not non-existent.

Second, even if credit or grants were made available to the women, it would not necessarily follow that the women would use the money to invest in their food selling activity. The Ministry of Social Welfare and Displaced Persons's experience with giving grants to the women showed that the women would use this money and simply stop selling food for a week or as long as they could and then come back to the Ministry to obtain a further grant. The Ministry thus preferred to finance "family production projects" aimed at increasing women's education levels and domestic skills rather than to give outright grants to the women food sellers. The fact that the women food sellers did not use the grant money to improve their food selling business but simply stopped working for as long as they could indicated that they would prefer not to do this kind of work. This aversion to work may be particular to the food selling activity, or it may also be related to Sudanese societal attitudes about women's proper roles.

This relates to a third reason why there is little hope in increasing the economic productivity of the food selling activity, which can be seen to be related to the overall socio-cultural environment which underlies and influences what women do, cannot do, or do not want to do. In Sudanese society, it was seen that the primary role of women is believed to be the caretakers of the home and family. Women are strongly encouraged to limit their activities to this private space. Women's activities in the public space, as food sellers, etc, are not encouraged, nor supported by prevalent attitudes. Except for the Ministry of Social Welfare and Displaced Persons, there is no institutional support available to the women food sellers and within the Ministry's "family production programme", the underlying objective is to get the women off the streets into domestic type work that they can do within their home. Thus the message the women receive is that by selling food on the street, they are contravening traditional behaviour patterns for women. This is considered to be, at the worst, immoral, and at the least, improper behaviour for a respectable woman. There is, therefore very little incentive, both in an attitudinal sense as well as in terms of institutional support, for the women to improve their working conditions. Even if the women could obtain enough capital to buy a stall and a license, and knew that by doing so they would circumvent much of the problems they were now facing, they might not agree to such a change, simply because of the implications that it would have for their respectability, both self and external. Thus, as long as it was understood that the work that the women were doing was temporary, and one motivated solely by subsistence need, both the women themselves and outside observers (husbands, customers, family, community, friends) could maintain (self) respect.

7.2 Contributions To Feminist Geography

Having documented the many economic, logistical, and political aspects of the food selling activity, having outlined the potential role that the informal sector has in the economy of the Sudan, and having discussed the potential impact that the women food sellers' activities are having on the social fabric of Sudanese society, this discussion will now attempt to cover the foremost objective of the thesis; to examine whether this study contributes to the field of feminist geography.

7.2.1 Towards A Redefinition of Feminist Geography

In the second chapter, it was noted that the present level of conceptualization of feminist geography is limited to a First World, largely white, middle class perspective. It was theorized that by analyzing the case study of the women food sellers within a feminist geographical framework, insights into the nature of women-environments would be achieved which would then contribute to, and broaden, and perhaps change, the conceptual framework of feminist geography.

Feminist geography owes much of its origins to the revelation that patterns of work (ie the gender division of labour) differ enormously from place to place and culture to culture. From Boserup's (1970) work on the role of women in economic development, and from the more recent work of Rogers (1980), the contrast between the natural environment and the human-made (usually "man-made") social environment was made obvious. In other words, in being able to see past the environment of Western society to other ways of women living, working and interacting with men and society, the previously accepted naturalness and immutability of the proper place of women and the division of labour was brought into question. In geographical terms, this reflected a large gap in the analysis of human-environment spatial patterns. It meant, that the very processes of gender roles and women-men interaction which shaped the landscape of place, had been overlooked.

A "corrective" (feminist) geography thus must address two main issues: (1) that the interrelationships between women and men and the environment and the struggle for power and control over each other and of the means of life (production) need to be studied in order to provide an accurate analysis of human spatial behaviour patterns; and (2) this analysis should not be limited to a strictly Western context, but must be applicable to the diverse patterns of women-men-environment relations of the great variety of cultural-physical systems across the world.

As yet, much of the work in feminist geography has concentrated on the first issue. The "debt" to Third World women, in terms of the part that they had to play in the relevation that environments are gendered and thus geography had to become gendered, has not been paid off within the conceptualization of feminist geography. The eight major themes that can be found in the body of feminist geography literature have, for the most part, ignored the fact that Third World women exist. Women in the Third World have been relegated to that mysterious "Third World difference", the "other" that Mohanty (1988) describes. While feminist geographical work on Third World women has been forthcoming (Momsen & Townsend 1988), the general perspective taken has been to simultaneously victimize and glorify Third World women's conditions. Their lives, experiences, struggles, feelings, abilities..., are still considered to be somehow different and unrelated to those of First World women. For feminist geography to provide an accurate description and analysis of human spatial-temporal environments, there is a need to broaden its horizon into the Third World without falling into the hegemonic trap of creating "Third World differences".

In the second chapter of this thesis a definition of feminist geography was given as:

> Feminist geography seeks to provide an analysis of the changes which are occurring in the interaction between women's actions and the spatial environment. It is a geography which takes into account the socially created gender structure of society, in which a commitment both towards the alleviation of gender equality in the short term and towards its removal, through social change towards real equality, in the longer terms, is expressed (Women and Geography Study Group 1984, p. 21)

However this definition is, in this author's opinion, somewhat limiting. A feminist geography which is primarily or only concerned with the analysis of gender in the interaction between human phenomena and the spatial and temporal environment does not take into account the class, cultural, national and racial divisions between women and men, and women and women. If a "new" geography is to exist and be prompted into existence by a feminist analysis, feminist geography must then recognize its own position in the overall relations of hegemony between First and Third Worlds, and actively work against falling into the trap of presenting distorted images of human environments in Third World countries.

The case study of the women food sellers in Khartoum provided an important opportunity to broaden and "democratise" the nature of the relationship between First and Third World women within the field of feminist geography. It showed that women, across cultural and class lines cope with very similar constraints of time and space in the age old, and seemingly universal confrontation between their reproductive and productive roles. It showed that Third World women cannot be considered to be the "other", a deviant population who can constantly be portrayed as unfortunate victims; of Islam, of circumcision, of bride burning, or any number of dark and murky "cultural" practices. It showed that, as feminists and feminist geographers are pointing out, the difficult reconciliation between work and family that women make, the age-old "ticking of the biological timeclock", owes its origins, not to an immutable event of nature which acts upon women to hinder and impinge on their development as full human beings, but to systems of economics, politics, and culture which are, at their very heart, created and controlled by men, and men's competing interests for power, wealth and leisure, most often at the expense of women.

The case study of the women food sellers did not add to feminist geography in the sense that it uncovered any radically different ideas or concepts about what feminist geography is. However, it did show that Third World women experience similar kinds of gender-based spatial and temporal constraints as First World women experience, despite seemingly, vastly different cultural, social, economic and political environments. While the recognition of this similarity does not in itself necessitate a reconceptualization within feminist geography, it does necessitate a broadening of the feminist geography perspective and an exploration into what Third World women's experiences and ways of interacting, with women, men and the overall environment, can offer to First World understandings of themselves, of the Third World, and of what human geography needs to be.

7.3 CONCLUSIONS

Within this thesis, two somewhat diverging themes are apparent: the first which tries to relate the women food sellers to the informal sector and to examine whether information collected about this activity can bring new insights into existing knowledge about women in the informal sector, and the second, which then tries to relate this information to feminist geography. It was shown in this thesis, that feminist geography, like traditional geography, is a perspective which seeks to uncover the interactions that occur between humans and their environments. However, unlike traditional geography, which does not recognize that human environments are gendered, feminist geography acknowledges that though women and men exist within the same environment, women's spaces within that environment, and therefore, women's interactions with the environment, and with men in the environment, are most often constrained by male-controlled cultural, economic, political and social institutions and attitudes.

Perhaps the most important theory put forward in this thesis is that the gender of the food sellers may have much more to do with the hardships the women food sellers face than is actually verbalized. If the food selling activity was dominated by men, would they have as difficult a time? Are the difficulties that the women face more directly related to their gender, and cultural-religious opposition to public roles for women, than to laws and regulations stipulated by the Environmental Act? This hypothesis would seem to be supported by the actions of the increasingly fundamentalist government of Lt. General Beshir, which, when enforcing full Sharia law, along with the limitation of women's participation in the civil service, professional work and as students in university, also banned women food sellers from continuing their work. The emphasis is on getting women back into their proper, private space, without recognizing that these women need to work in order to survive. It would be of the utmost necessity to find out if the number of men selling food on the street increased as a result of this policy, or whether kashas are being applied as vigourously as they were against the women food sellers. Unfortunately, although attempts were made, very little information can be received from the Sudan at the moment.

The underlying motivation for writing this thesis was to make visible the conditions of women in one space and one environment of the world. It was an attempt to show that these women are connected to women around the world by virtue of the fact that they are women who, having stepped out of the traditional realm of home and family, have found that as women, unskilled and uneducated, their efforts to take on the traditionally male role of breadwinner are restricted by a multitude of deeply engrained, institutionalized and most often, intangible roadblocks, all connected in some way or another to the economic, political, cultural and social systems which are controlled and dominated by men.

However, the connections between the women food sellers, their efforts to provide for their families and the systems of male-domination and control are difficult to describe. Many studies have taken one aspect of women's oppression and related it to, for example, the practice of female circumcision, lack of birth control, or polygamy and have sought to explain women's lives by virtue of this single connection to the entire cultural, social, political, and economic environment which influences, controls and determines what women do or cannot do. Many times these connections have proved to be incomplete, hamstrung by an inability to truly understand another culture. Feminist geography attempts to analyze the conditions of a particular population (usually women-focused) within an integrated social, political, economic and cultural perspective which looks at both, how women interact, create and change their spatial and temporal environments, and how political, economic, social and cultural systems within their environment influence, impinge, and determine women's personal time and space. It was speculated in this thesis, that by bringing the case study of women food sellers into a feminist geographical framework, that as complete an understanding of their lives as possible, could be achieved, and that perhaps, new insights into the connection between women's lives around the world could be sought. A contribution to the field of feminist geography would thus have been made.

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APPENDIX I
QUESTIONNAIRE/STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Introduction:

My name is Mary Liao. I am a university student from Canada working with the Institute of Environmental Studies, University of Khartoum. I am doing a study on the types of work that women in Khartoum do. I am wondering if you could help me by answering some questions about your work. If you are uncomfortable with any of these questions please feel free to not answer them or to end our conversation at any time.

A. Job related questions:

1. What do you sell?
    - 01 kisra _____
    - 02 kisra with stew _____
    - 03 tea _____ (prepared food)
    - 04 coffee _____
    - 05 vegetables _____ (petty traders)
    - 06 mulah stew _____
    - 07 others _____
2. How much do you charge for:
    - 01 kisra (per lafa) __________
    - 02 kisra with stew __________
    - 03 tea (per cup) __________
    - 04 coffee (per pot) __________
3. How do you decide on what to charge?
    - 01 based on prices of raw materials __________
    - 02 based on prices of raw materials and costs of preparation __________
    - 03 fixed by the government __________
    - 04 others (specify) __________
4. Does this price vary during the day or from day to day, or on special occasions?

    Yes _____ No _____

    If yes, when

    ____

    ____

    and by how much

    ____

    ____

5. For the materials that you are selling today, can you tell me what the costs are for preparing it?

a) kisra: How much dura _____________ price ____________
How much fuel _____________ price ____________
How much time spent ____________________________

b) kisra with stew:
How much dura _____________ price _____________
How much fuel _____________ price _____________
How much meat _____________ price _____________
How much vegetables________ price _____________
____
How much time spent_____________________________
____

c) tea and coffee
How much sugar ____________ price _____________
How much tea ____________ price _____________
How much coffee____________ price _____________

6. Where do you get your raw materials?
01 market place ______
02 government rations ______
03 black market ______
04 Other (specify) ______

7. How did you bring these materials here?
01 on head _____
02 renting a cart _____ cost _____
03 renting a pickup _____ cost _____
04 in shop already _____
05 taxi _____ cost _____
06 bus _____ cost _____

8. Who are your most frequent customers?
01 government workers _____
02 business people _____
03 shoppers _____
04 others (specify) _____

9. Are your customers mostly:
men _____ women _____

10. Do you pay for using this place to sell from?
Yes _____ No _____

If yes, whom do you pay to?

01 to local council _____
02 to health officials _____

03 to the owner of the shop ____
04 other ____

11. How much do you pay?
monthly ________
weekly ________
daily ________

12. Do you have any other costs?
Yes ____
No ____
If yes, what are they?

13. Why did you choose this place to sell from?

14. Do you only sell from this location?
Yes ____
No ____
If no, where else do you sell and what time of the day do you go there?

15. What are the rents of these places?

16. Have rents been going up? If yes, how often?

17. Do you need a license to sell food in Khartoum?
Yes ____
No ____
If yes, from whom?

18. Do you have a license?
Yes ____
No ____
If no, have you tried to get one?
Yes ____
No ____

19. Did you have any problems trying to get a license?
    Yes _____
    No _____
If yes, what were these problems?

20. Do you enjoy this work?
    yes _____
    No _____
If yes, why?

If no, why not

21. What are the main problems you have in doing this job?

22. For today's work, can you give me some information on the following:

01 When did you start preparing?____

____

02 What time did you leave home?____

03 How long does it take for you to get here?____

04 How do you travel to get here?____

05 How long will you stay at this place?____

06 Will you go directly home or to another place to sell?____

---

07 At what time do you expect to go
home?____

---

23. Does anyone help you with this work?
    yes _____
    no _____

If yes, who?
    01 hired worker ______
    02 one of my children ______
    03 adult family member ______
    04 other (specify) ______

24. For yesterdays work, can you estimate how much money you collected (very roughly)?

25. Is this:
    01 less than you usually make ______
    02 more than you usually make ______
    03 about the same as every day ______

26. When did you start doing this work?
    01 ever since I was a child __________
    02 since I was married __________
    03 since my husband's death __________
    04 since my divorce __________
    05 during Nimery's rule __________
    06 during El Sadiq's rule __________
    07 recently (within the year) __________

27. Why did you decide to sell food? Did someone encourage you to sell?

28. What were the initial costs to get started in selling?

29. Who paid for these costs?
    01 myself ______
    02 inherited money ______
    03 my husband ______
    04 loan ______
    05 sandug ______
    06 grant from social welfare ______
    07 other (specify) ______

30. If the initial capital came from a loan or sandug, were you able to pay it back?
    Yes _____
    No _____

31. Will you continue to do this work?
    Yes _____
    No _____

If yes, why?
    01 the profits support me and my children _____
    02 to increase my family income _____
    03 enables me to depend only on myself _____
    04 no other jobs available for women like me_____
    05 other (specify) _____

If no, why not?
    01 I face harassment _____
    02 degrading for women _____
    03 little profit _____
    04 no time left for family affairs _____
    05 smoke cause health problems _____
    06 difficult to find raw materials _____
    07 other (specify) _____

32. If you had a choice, is there any other kind of work you would prefer to do?
    01 salaried job ______
    02 manage a shop from my home ______
    03 to have a license to sell vegetables ______
    04 other (specify) ______

33. Why would you prefer this job?
    01 more stable income _____
    02 higher profit _____
    03 more enjoyable work _____
    04 less harassment from men/authorities _____
    05 more time with my family _____
    06 other (specify) _____

34. Of these reasons, which do you consider to be the most important?

B. Personal and Household Information

35. What is your marital status?
    01 single _____
    02 married _____
    03 divorce _____

04 widowed ______
05 separated ______

36. What is your age?
01 <20 ______
02 20-25 ______
03 26-30 ______
04 31-35 ______
05 36-40 ______
06 41-45 ______
07 46-50 ______
08 51-55 ______
09 56-60 ______
10 > 60 ______

37. What is the age of your husband?
01 <20 ______
02 20-25 ______
03 26-30 ______
04 31-35 ______
05 36-40 ______
06 41-45 ______
07 46-50 ______
08 51-55 ______
09 56-60 ______
10 > 60 ______

38. Do you have any children?
Yes ______
No ______
If yes, how many? ____________________
What are the ages of your children?
No.1 ______
No.2 ______
No.3 ______
No.4 ______
No.5 ______
No.6 ______
No.7 ______
No.8 ______
No.9 ______
No.10 ______

39. What do you do with your children when you are working away from home?
01 bring them with you ______
02 someone take care of them at home ______
03 they go to school ______
04 other (specify) ______

40. Education
   01 no education ______
   02 khalwa ______
   03 primary ______
   04 intermediate ______

41. If you are married, do you live with your husband?
   Yes ______
   No ______

If no, why?
   01 he abandoned me ______
   02 I choose not to ______
   03 he is working outside Khartoum ______
   04 he migrated outside the Sudan ______
   05 others (specify) ______

42. Does your husband work? Doing what?
   01 labourer ______
   02 skilled labourer ______
   03 petty trader ______
   04 soldier ______
   05 other (specify) ______

43. Do you know how much he makes approximately?
   daily ______
   weekly ______
   monthly ______

44. Where were you born?
   01 inside Khartoum ______
   02 outside Khartoum ______

45. If outside Khartoum, since when have you been living in Khartoum?
   01 pre 1950 ______
   02 1950-60 ______
   03 1960-70 ______
   04 1970-80 ______
   05 1980-90 ______

46. Why did you move here?

47. Did you come:
   01 with your family (parents) ______
   02 with your husband ______
   03 before your husband ______
   04 after your husband ______
   05 alone ______
   06 alone with your children ______

48. What is the status of the house that you occupy?
01 rented _____ cost _____
02 owned _____
03 squatting (owned) _____
04 squatting (rented) _____ cost _____
05 other (specify) _____

49. Do you consider that your standard of living had improved or declined since moving to Khartoum?
01 improved _____
02 declined _____
03 not sure _____

50. If improved, in what ways?
01 enough food _____
02 children go to school _____
03 better services _____
04 others (specify) _____

51. If declined, in what ways?
01 miss my people _____
02 very hard life _____
03 no animals to tend _____
04 no security _____
05 miserable housing conditions _____
06 children are not safe _____
07 male harassment _____
08 other (specify) _____

52. Which one of these reasons are the most important to you?

53. If your life became worse, do you intend to go back to your original home?
Yes _____
No _____
If no, why not?
01 conditions are worse at home _____
02 others (specify) _____

54. Are you free to keep the money that you earn from this job?
Yes ____
No ____

55. If yes, how do you spend this money?
    01 on family needs _____
    02 still paying loans _____
    03 use for my own needs _____
    04 other (specify) _____

56. If no, who do you turn the money over to?
    01 husband _____
    02 parent _____
    03 other (specify) _____

57. How would you rate your health ______
    your husband's ______
    your children's ______
    your parents' ______
    1-excellent health (no problems)
    2-good/fair health (some problems)
    3-very bad/poor health (many problems)

Thank you for all your help.

For the interviewer, please comment on the appearance of the food seller. For example, is she:

clean yes ____ no____
young looking yes ____ no____
nice clothes yes ____ no____
talkative yes ____ no____
cheerful yes ____ no____
well fed yes ____ no____
tired looking yes ____ no____

Location of the interview______________________________

Time of day ______________________________________

Please also write any comments about your personal impressions about this food seller.

____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____
____

APPENDIX II
INDEPTH INTERVIEW

1. When and why did she first decide to work?
2. Why did she decide to sell food as her work?
3. Did anyone help her to choose to be a food seller? Who?
4. Did she look at other types of jobs before she decided to sell food as her job?
5. Did she know about the problems that food sellers face before she started working as a food seller, or did she only learn about these problems after she started?
6. Did anyone (another food sellers) help her to get started, for example, to buy the equipment like the stove and stool and teacups, etc?
7. Once she got started selling, did she find it easy to find a good location to sell her food?
8. How did she choose her location? Did someone tell her it was a good place or did she have to try many other places before she settled on this one?
9. Do any of the food sellers join together to help each other to:
    - buy raw materials
    - protect each other from kashas and /or male harassment
    - make transportation cheaper by coming here together
10. Has she ever been in a raid or seen other food sellers in one? What happened?
11. What kind of help can a woman food seller get to get her out of trouble when she is caught in a kasha?
12. Does her family/husband help her?
13. Do other food sellers help her?
14. When she gets home after work, what does she do?
15. Can she describe her whole day to us?
16. What are her long range goals in life for:
    - herself
    - her children
    - her husband

APPENDIX III
INTERVIEW OF THE INTERVIEWERS

1. Please provide a comparative description of each of the questionnaire areas including:
    - where the women lived who sold in that area;
    - how the women sold the food; under shelters, on the street, in shops, etc.
    - what the main food was that the women sold;
    - what the function of the area was, ie bus depot, market, etc.
    - the state of cleanliness of the area and of the women themselves;
    - how much profit they thought the women actually made in each area and if they felt the profit levels changed between the different areas and reasons why;
    - how well off or poor the women looked in each of the areas;
    - how helpful or unhelpful the women in each area were and reasons why; and
    - differences in the women's daily schedules between the areas.

2. Please state any differences that you feel were apparent between the eight selling locations.

3. What do you think about the women food seller's situation and their position vis-a-vis the government?

4. What do you think the women can do to help themselves?

5. Do you think the government will do anything to help the women?

6. Do you think the Islamic funding agencies will give the women money or is there some problem with giving money to women who are working?

APPENDIX IV
GOVERNMENT INTERVIEWS

Ministry of Labour

1. Can you briefly summarize the responsibilities of this Ministry?

2. What is the minimum wage set in 1974? Has this changed in recent years? What is the minimum wage now?

3. What jobs does this minimum wage apply to?

4. What about the informal sector. Does the Ministry have any influence on the wages in this sector?

5. Has the Ministry been involved in the informal sector? If so, in what ways?

6. Is the Ministry concerned with the women who sell food in the street? If so, in what ways? If no, why not?

Ministry of Social Welfare and Displaced Persons (Central and Municipal)

1. Does this Ministry have a special department which deals specifically with the needs of women in Khartoum?

2. Why and when was this department formed?

3. What responsibilities and activities does this department carry out?

4. How do poor women get help from the Ministry? Is there an application procedure, or centres set up to help them, or does the Ministry have extension workers who go out to the poor settlements?

5. Has there been an increase of the number of women who are in need of assistance? If so, how much of an increase has there been and what are the primary reasons for this increase?

6. What about the women who sell food on the street. Does this Ministry have any role in helping these women?

7. The Municipal authorities are trying to clear the women off the streets by confiscating all their equipment and fining them heavily? What policy does this Ministry have on the women food sellers?

Municipal District Council Public Health Office (Khartoum North)

1. Is this office responsible for the licensing of establishments involved in the selling of food?

2. What kind of inspection process does this office use to license kiosks, restaurants, stalls, etc?

3. What criteria must the food selling places fulfil before they are granted a license?

4. How much does it cost to get a license?

5. What about the women who sell food on the street? Does this office give licenses to these women? If no, why not?

6. Do many of the women food sellers come to this office to obtain a license? If so, what does this office tell the women when they come?

7. Can the women sell food on the street without a license?

8. The women say that officers from the District Council often come and raid them on the street? Is this true? If so, why does this happen?

9. The women also say that they are fined by the officers. Is this also true? If so how much are the women fined? What happens if the women cannot pay this fine?

10. Do the women pay taxes to the District Council? If so, how much is this tax?

11. What is the official policy of the Municipal government in regards to the women food sellers?

APPENDIX V
QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

A. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WOMEN FOOD SELLERS

Table 1
Age of the Food Seller

Age	Number	Percentage
Under 20	24	22
21 - 25	11	10
26 - 30	18	17
31 - 35	12	11
36 - 40	13	12
41 - 45	15	14
46 - 50	7	7
51 - 55	1	1
56 - 60	2	2
Over 60	4	4

Table 2
Education Status

Education	Number	Percentage
None	79	74.0
Khalwa	8	7.5
Primary	12	11.0
Intermediate	8	7.5

Table 3
Marital Status

Status	Number	Percentage
Married	58	54
Single	22	21
Divorced	15	14
Widowed	12	11
Separated	0	0

Table 4
Age of the Husbands

Age	Number	Percentage
Under 20	0	0
21 - 25	0	0
26 - 30	2	3
31 - 35	13	21
36 - 40	9	15
41 - 45	8	13
46 - 50	7	11
51 - 55	6	10
56 - 60	5	8
Over 60	12	19

Table 5
Do You Live With Your Husband?

Do you live with your husband?	Number	Percentage
Yes	43	40
No	42	39
N/A (single)	22	21

Table 6
Reason why not living with husband

Reason not living with husband	Number	Percentage
Widowed/divorced	26	61.5
Abandoned me	7	16.5
Outside Khartoum	3	7.0
Choose not to	2	5.0
Outside Sudan	2	5.0

Table 7
Occupation of Husband

Occupation	Number	Percentage
Unemployed	26	46
Labourer	16	28
Skilled Labour	5	9
Other	5	9
Petty trader	3	5
Soldier	2	3

Table 8
Do you have children?

Have Children	Number	Percentage
True	81	76
False	25	23
No answer	1	1

Table 9
Average ages of children

Child Number:	Average	Minimum	Maximum
1	16.3	1.4	36
2	14.6	2.0	35
3	13.0	0.11	33
4	11.3	2.0	30
5	9.8	0.9	28
6	8.7	0.4	25
7	7.5	1.0	16
8	7.5	1.0	12
9	5.7	3.0	8
10	8.0	8.0	8

Table 10
Place of Birth

Where were you born?	Number	Percentage
In Khartoum	21	20
Outside of Khartoum	86	80

Table 11
Time of Migration

When did you come	Number	Percentage
Pre 1950	0	0
1951-1960	4	5
1961-1970	18	22
1971-1980	19	23
1981-1990	40	50

Note 81 answers, 21 born in Khartoum and 5 no answers.

Table 12
Reason for Migration

Reasons for Migration	Number	Percentage
Famine/drought	47	26
Follow husband/job	40	21
Economic reasons	28	16
Follow parents	27	14
Better services	17	9
A job for herself	21	11
Others	7	3

Table 13
Who did you migrate with?

Who Did You Migrate With?	Number	Percentage
Husband	43	46
Family(parents)	29	31
By herself following husband	8	8
Alone with/o children	14	15

Table 14
Average Health Rating

Person	Average
Herself	1.33
Husband	1.6
Children	1.34
Parents	1.63

Table 15
Health Rating for Each Family Member

Person	Health Rating	Frequency	Percentage
Herself	1	74	74
	2	19	19
(100)	3	7	7
Husband	1	31	60
	2	11	21
(52)	3	10	19
Children	1	53	69
	2	22	29
(77)	3	2	2
Parents	1	27	56
	2	12	25
(48)	3	9	19

B. ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE FOOD SELLING ACTIVITY

Table 16
Type of Food Sold

Type of Food	Number*	Percentage
Kisra	38	28
Kisra with stew	17	12
Tea	50	37
Coffee	28	20
Vegetables	0	0
Mulah	0	0
Other	4	4

* Note: Each can sell more than one type of food.

Table 17
Approximate Cost of Food Type

Food Type	Price for Each Type (LS)		
	Average	Maximum	Minimum
Kisra	93	300	1.4
Kisra stew	138	600	25.0
Tea/coffee	88	315	4.0

Table 18
Price Charged for Each Type of Food

Type of Food	Cost of Food (LS)		
	Average	Maximum	Minimum
Kisra (per lafa)	1.3	6	0.1
Kisra stew(1 bowl)	5.5	7	4.0
Tea (1 glass)	1.9	3	1.0
Coffee (1 glass)	2.9	4	1.5

Table 19
Where do you obtain the raw materials?

Place	Number*	Percentage
Market	39	32.5
Black market	59	50.0
Government rations	10	8.0
Other	1	.8
No answer	11	9.0

* Note: More than one answer

Table 20
Pay Rent

Pay Rent	Number	Percentage
True	22	20
False	85	80

Table 21
Who do you pay rent to?

To Whom	Number	Percentage
Shop owner	21	95
No answer	1	5
Local council	0	0
Health worker	0	0

Table 22
Is the rent increasing?

Rent Increasing	Number	Percentage
True	5	4.7
False	71	66.3
No answer	31	29.0

Table 23
Amount Paid for Rent

	Rent Cost per day (LS)
Average	28
Maximum	300
Minimum	2

Table 24
Initial Capital Costs

	Initial Capital Costs (LS)
Average	74.9
Maximum	500.0
Minimum	2.0

Table 25
Source of Capital

Source of Capital	Number	Percentage
Myself (the woman)	51	49
Husband	18	17
Loan	17	16
Mother	9	9
Other	7	7
Sandug	1	1
Welfare grant	0	0

Table 26
Do you change locations?

Only sell here	Number	Percentage
True	101	94
False	6	6

Table 27
Reason for Selling Here

Reason selling here	Number	Percentage
Near home	57	47
More customers	36	30
Other	20	17
No harassments	7	5
No answer	1	1

Table 28
Do you get assistance in your work?

Get Assistance	Number	Percentage
Yes	41	38
No	66	68

Table 29
Whom do you get assistance from?

If yes, from whom	Number	Percentage
Hired worker	16	36
Children	12	27
Family member	12	27
Other	4	10

Table 30
Profit Made (per day)

	Profit (LS)
Average	63.5
Maximum	600.0
Minimum	10.0

Table 31
Breakdown of Profit

Profit (LS)	Occurrence	
	Number	Percentage
0-50	88	83
51-100	13	12.4
101-150	1	.9
151-200	1	.9
201-250	1	.9
251-300	0	0.0
301-350	1	.9
351-400	0	0.0
401-500	1	.9
501-600	1	.9

C. SPATIAL AND TEMPORAL PATTERNS OF THE FOOD SELLING ACTIVITY

C.1 Transportation

Table 32
Mode of Transport

Mode of Transport	Number	Percentage
Cart	42	40
Foot	31	30
Bus	16	15.5
Taxi	15	14.5

Table 33
How do you transport your materials to the selling location?

Mode	Number*	Percentage
Cart	48	44
Head	26	24
Taxi	15	14
Bus	13	11
In shop	5	4
Pick up truck	3	3

C.2 Daily Schedule

Table 34
Preparation Starting Time

Time Start Preparing	Number	Percentage
Before 4 am	19	25
At 5 am	17	23
At 6 am	21	28
After 7 am	15	20
Night before	3	4

Table 35
Time Leave Home

Time Leave Home	Occurrence	
	Number	Percentage
4 am	4	4
5 am	16	15
6 am	21	20
7 am	28	27
8 am	13	12
9 am	6	5
10 am	8	8
11 am	5	4
noon	1	1
1 pm	4	3
2 pm	1	1
after 3pm	0	0

Table 36
Time to get to selling location

	Time to get to selling location
Average	32 minutes
Maximum	5 hours
Minimum	1 minute

Table 37
Time Spent at Selling Location

	Time spent at selling location
Average	7 hours
Maximum	18 hours
Minimum	1 hour

Table 38
Time To Get Home

Time return home	Number	Percentage
8 am	1	1
9 am	1	1
10 am	0	0
11 am	4	4
Noon	10	9
1 pm	14	13
2 pm	10	9
3 pm	13	12
4 pm	23	22
5 pm	17	16
6 pm	12	11
7 pm	2	2

D. PROBLEMATIC ASPECTS OF THE ACTIVITY

Table 39
Number of Women Who Have Problems

Have Problems	Number	Percentage
True	94	88
False	12	11.1
No answer	1	.9

Table 40
Type of Problem

Kinds of Problems	Number	Percentage
Kashas	65	33
Shortage of materials	42	22
High cost of materials	32	16
Others	23	12
Male harassment	17	9
Customers complaining	16	8

Table 41
Do you need a license as a food seller?

Need License	Number	Percentage
True	41	38
False	66	62

Table 42
Do you have a license?

Have a License	Number	Percentage
True	9	8.5
False	98	91.5

Table 43
Have you tried to get a license?

Try to get a License	Number	Percentage
Yes	20	19
No	84	79
No answer	3	2

Table 44
Did you have any problems trying to get a license?

Of those that tried, did you have problems?	Number	Percentage
Yes	20	100
No	0	0

Table 45
What type of problem?

Type of Problem	Number	Percentage
Government refused	18	66
No shop/place	5	20
High cost	2	7
No transport	2	7

E. THE WOMEN FOOD SELLERS' PERCEPTIONS AND CHOICES

Table 46
Why did you chose food selling?

Reason	Number	Percentage
No other work	58	41
Family need	49	35
Flexible time	17	12
No husband	8	5
Good profit	6	4
Like work	4	3

Table 47
Will you continue to work as a food seller?

Continue	Number	Percentage
Yes	78	73.0
No	25	23.5
No answer	4	3.5

Table 48
If yes, why?

I will continue because:	Number	Percentage
No other job	41	28
For the children	38	26
The income	36	24
The independence	33	22

Table 49
If no, why not?

I will not continue because:	Number	Percentage
Low profits	14	47
Harassments	12	39
No time with family	2	7
Degrading work	2	7

Table 50
Do you keep the money from your food selling?

Keep the money	Number	Percentage
Yes	92	86
No	12	11
no answer	3	3

Table 51
If no, who do you give it to?

	Number	Percentage
Parents	12	92
Husband	0	0
Other	1	8

Table 52
How do you spend the money?

	Number	Percentage
Family needs	88	83
Personal needs	14	13
Pay back loan	2	2
Other	2	2

Table 53
Do you enjoy this work?

Enjoy work	Number	Percentage
Yes	53	50
No	54	50

Table 54
Reasons for Enjoyment

If yes, why	Number	Percentage
No other job	27	46
To feed family	23	39
Just like the work	8	13.3
No harassments	1	1.7

Table 55
Reasons for Non-enjoyment

If no, why	Number	Percentage
Hard work	26	40
No profit	20	30
Harassments	8	12
Hot sun	8	12
Degrading work	2	3
No transport	1	3

Table 56
When did you start working as a food seller?

When	Number	Percentage
Recently	34	30
Since Nimery	31	27
Since El Sadiq	25	22
Since married	12	10
Since husband died	7	6
Since divorce	3.5	4
Since childhood	2	1.5

Table 57
Life Improvement

Do you feel your life has improved since coming to Khartoum?	Number	Percentage
Yes	38	47
No	27	33
Not sure	16	20

Table 58
How has life improved?

If improved, how?	Number	Percentage
More food	33	44
Better services	22	29
Education (for children)	18	21
Other	2	3

Table 59
How has life declined?

If declined, how?	Number	Percentage
Hard life in city	19	30
Miss home/family	12	19
Poor housing in city	11	18
No animals	9	14
No security	6	10
Bad for children	2	3
Male harassment	2	3
Other	2	3

Table 60
Would you go back?

If life became worse, would you go back home?	Number	Percentage
Yes	18	17
No	34	32
Not sure	55	51

Table 61
Why not?

If no, why not?	Number	Percentage
Worse at home	20	51
Life is here now	14	36
Other	5	13

F. RECONCILING WORK AND FAMILY

Table 62
Where are the children while you work?

Where are the children while you work	Number	Percentage
Cared for at home	40	48
Go to school	19	23
Leave home alone	14	17
Bring with me	7	8.5
Other	3	3.5

APPENDIX VI
LIST OF CROSS RELATIONSHIP QUESTIONS AND RESULTS

I. List of Cross Reference Questions

A. Logistical and Economic

Is there a relationship between:

63. Black market and the type of food sold.
64. Type of food sold and if licenses are possessed.
65. Age of the women and the amount of profit collected per day.
66. The personal characteristics of the women and the amount of profit collected.
67. The location of their selling and the amount of profit collected.
68. The amount of profit collected by the mode of transport used to reach the market.
69. The mode of transport used to reach the market by whether their husbands were unemployed.
70. The mode of transport used and whether they chose their selling location on the basis of nearness to their homes.
71. If they have children and whether they get any help in their job or not.
72. The number of children and if they get help or not in their work.

B. Issues

73. Age and if they find male harassment is a major problem.
74. Personal characteristics and if they find kashas are a problem.
75. Age and if kashas are a problem.
76. The women's health and if they said that shortage of materials was a serious problem.
77. Health by if male harassment is a problem.
78. Health by if kashas are a problem.
79. If they have problems and the type of job they would prefer instead.
80. The type of problem they experience and the type of job of job they would prefer instead.

C. Reconciling Work with Family

81. The age of the women and whether they want to work at all or not.

82. Their marital status by if they want to work or not.
83. Their marital status by if they control their earnings or not.
84. Marital status and if they chose the location because it was near to their home.
85. If they have children by she sells here because it is close to home.
86. Number of children by if she sells here because it is close to home.
87. Age of their husbands by if they will continue to work.
88. The age of the women by how long they will stay at the selling location.
89. If they have children by how long they stay at the market.
90 Marital status by how long they stay at the market.
91. Age by what time they leave home for the market.
92. Marital status and what time they leave home for the market.
93. If they have any children by what time they leave home.

D. Perceptions of Life in Khartoum

94. Marital status by if they think life has improved or declined.
95. Rental status of their home by if life has improved or declined.
96. Year of migration to Khartoum by if life has improved or declined.
97. Employment status of their husband by if life has improved or declined.
98. The year of migration by if they will continue to work.
99. Year of migration by if she would go home.
100. The state of health of the women by if she would go home.
101. Marital status by if she enjoys her work or not.
102. Her health by if she enjoys her work or not.

II. Results of the Cross Tabulations

A. Logistical and Economic Questions

63. Is there a relationship between the kind of food sold and where the women get their raw materials?

Hypothesis: Those selling tea and coffee will be supplied by the "black market" more than those selling the other food items.

Food Item	Black Market True	Percentage
Kisra	8	10
Kisra/stew	7	8
Tea/coffee	68	82
83 out of 107 or 77.5% answers		

It can be seen that those selling tea and coffee buy their raw materials from the "black market" to a much greater degree than those selling kisra and stew. This is an expected result as tea, sugar and coffee are all government rationed commodities and are only available through the "black market" in greater quantities than is allowed for one person or family.

64. Does the type of food sold have any effect on whether they can get a license or not?

Hypothesis: Those selling kisra have a better chance at obtaining licenses; more so than those selling tea and coffee.

Food Item	License	(%)	No License	Total
Kisra	2	22	36	38
Kisra/stew	2	22	15	17
Tea/coffee	5	56	73	78

There is no relationship between type of food sold and if they have licenses or not. This can be attributed to two reasons. The first is because of food handling and hygiene criteria, government policy does not allow the granting of food licenses to these women. However, a slight bend in the rules will allow some temporary licences and health cards to be issued to some women which will allow them to sell food legally. This is not a permanent measure, however, and these temporary licenses are usually granted only to those women selling kisra. This is a measure designed to alleviate the times when their is a flour and (wheat) bread shortage in the country. The fact that more tea/coffee women said that they had a license does not follow government policy. Thus the second reason why this question has no real results, is that the women who answered that they had a license, especially the tea/coffee sellers, were in all probability, not being truthful. This is understandable as some of the women did not trust us (interviewers) completely and may have feared that we were government officials who would then harass her if she did not have a license.

65. Is there a relationship between the age of the women and the amount of profit collected?

Hypothesis: No hypothesis, except that the profits will not be high at any age. The older women may have higher profits because of experience, but on the other hand, the younger, better appearing women may attract more customers.

				Profit				
Age	0-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	201-250	251-300	>300	Total
U 20	13	3	1	0	0	0	3	20/24
20-25	9	0	0	0	0	0	1	10/11
26-30	13	2	0	0	1	0	2	18/18
31-35	10	1	0	0	0	0	1	12/12
36-40	8	1	0	1	0	0	3	13/13
41-45	13	1	0	0	0	0	1	15/15
46-50	5	1	0	0	0	0	1	7/7
51-55	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1/1
56-60	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2/2
O 60	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	4/4
	76	10	1	1	1	0	13	102/107
(%)	75	10	1	1	1	0	12	

75% of the women said that their profits amounted to around 50 pounds and less per day. The rest of the women are spread pretty evenly throughout the other profit intakes without any clustering or grouping of certain age groups into profit categories.

66. Is there a relationship between the personal characteristics of the women and the amount of profit collected in a day.

Hypothesis: The women displaying more positive characteristics, ie clean, young, nice clothes, cheerful, talkative, well-fed, will attract more customers and thus make more money than those women who do not display these characteristics.

Characteristic	Profit 0-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	201-250	250-300	>300	Total
Clean	31	6	1	0	1	0	3	42
Young	57	8	1	0	1	0	3	0
Clothes	36	4	1	0	1	0	2	44
Talkative	22	3	1	0	1	0	2	29
Cheerful	31	7	1	0	0	0	2	41
Well-fed	39	2	1	1	0	0	1	44
Total	216	30	6	1	4	0	13	270
%	80	11	2	.5	1.5	0	5	100

Again it can be seen that the personal characteristics of the women did not have much or any effect on the profits collected per day. Most of the women made 50 and under pounds.

67. Is there a relationship between the location where the women chose to sell their food and the amount of profit collected per day?

Hypothesis: Certain areas may, for reasons such as proximity to higher class residential areas, types of market areas, or proximity to transport and travel depot, may have higher potential for better profits.

Location	Profit 0-50	51-100	101-150	151-200	201-250	251-300	>300
Omdurman	9	0	0	0	0	0	0
Ashabia	10	6	0	0	0	0	0
KhartoumC	8	2	0	0	0	0	0
Khartoum2	11	0	0	0	0	0	0
East Diems	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Yousif	16	3	1	1	0	0	1
Libya	19	1	0	0	1	0	2
Gishra	14	1	0	0	0	0	0

The profits made in one day did not really vary from place to place. All locations showed a profit of 50 pounds and under, with perhaps Suq Ashabia being the "richest" in that more of the women seemed to make over the 50 pound mark than at any other location.

68. Is there a relationship between the amount of profit the women make and the mode of transportation they use in getting to and from work back home?

Hypothesis: The women who make more money may use taxis, the bus or rent a pickup truck to transport them while the poorer women will go by foot.

Profit	Mode of Transport			
	Taxi	Foot(cart/head)	Pickup	Bus
0- 50	9	34	1	6
51-100	1	8	1	2
101-150	0	1	1	0
151-200	0	0	0	0
201-250	0	1	0	0
251-300	0	0	0	0
> 300	0	2	0	0
Total	10	46	3	8

The hypothesis proved quite true as most of the women 46 of the 67 who answered this question or 69%, went to and from work on foot either carrying their goods on their heads or pushing or having a cart pushed for them. The 10 or 14% who took taxis can be questioned as to why they would spare the 5 or so pounds it would cost them, however, considering the lack of local transport (due to fuel shortages) and hence its crowded and erratic nature, it is conceivable that the women would spare the money for the time and convenience it would afford them instead.

69. Is there a relationship between the mode of transport used by the women and whether their husbands are unemployed?

Hypothesis: Their will be no relationship as the activities of the women seem to have absolutely no interaction with those of their husbands.

Mode of Transport	Unemployed Yes	(%)	No	Total
Taxi	5	20	22	26
Bus	6	24	20	26
Pickup	0	0	26	26
On foot (cart)	9	36	17	26
On foot (head)	5	20	21	26
Total	25	100	105	130
%	19		81	

Of the 26 women who have husbands who are unemployed, 25 women responded to this question. Of these 25 women, most or 56% went to and from work on foot, again either with a cart or carrying their good on their heads. There otherwise does not seem to be any other significance in these findings. Despite the fact that their husbands are unemployed, 5 or 20 % of the women and exactly half of the 10 women in total who said that they took taxis, took taxis to work. Therefore there does not seem to be any relationship between the women and their work or at least the mode of transport they take to work, and their husband's income.

70. Is there a relationship between the fact that they are selling at the location that they are because it is near to their home, and the mode of transport that they take to and from work?

Hypothesis: If the women answered that they sell at this location because it is near to their home, then they will take the transport which costs the least, namely on foot (head).

Mode of Transport	Near Home True	%	False	%	Total
Foot (head)	18	33	8	16	26
Foot (cart)	29	53	19	39	48
Pickup	0	0	3	6	3
Bus	6	11	6	12	12
Taxi	2	4	13	27	15
	55	(100)	49	(100)	104

Thus it seems to be true that most (47 women or 86% of those living near the place that they sell travel there by foot, and probably choose to sell in those locations because they can travel by foot rather than put out money for transport costs. The number of women who take a taxi is also a good indicator of this theory as 13 out of the 15 (87%) who take taxis do not live near the place that they sell food. Only 2 who live near the market also take a taxi.

71. Is there a relationship between whether the women have children and whether they are assisted in their work?

Hypothesis: Those with children are more likely to get help either from the children themselves or because of the added responsibility of work and children making it a necessity.

Get Assistance	Have Children Number	Percentage
True	11	14
False	48	59
no answer	22	27
	81	100

This hypothesis does not prove true as 81 of the women have children but only 14% or 11 of the women get any assistance in their work and 59% do not get any help.

72. Is there a relationship between the number of children these 81 women have and if they get assistance in their work?

Hypothesis: Perhaps those with more children will be more likely to be the ones who get help.

Number of Children	Get Assistance				
	True	%	False	no answer	Total
1	3	11	7	0	10
2	1	4	4	0	5
3	2	7	11	0	13
4	5	19	6	0	11
5	4	15	8	0	12
6	6	22	8	0	14
7	3	11	4	0	7
8	1	4	4	0	5
9	2	7	1	0	3
10	0	0	1	0	1
Total	27	(100)	54	0	81
%	35		65		

This shows that the hypothesis is not supported. The women having more children do not get assistance. However, this question and the results must also be qualified. The average number of children for the 81 women is 4.6. As seen in the above table, the women who do get assistance are the women who have between 4 and 7 children, ie the women who would most need the assistance. Only one or two women actually had more than 8 children. Thus, the hypothesis would have been better stated that those women with above 3 children would have the most need for help with their work and thus would be most likely to say that they had help.

B. Problematic Questions

73. Is there a relationship between the age of the women and whether they have the problem of male harassment?

Hypothesis: The younger women will have more problems.

Age	Male Harassments				
	Yes	(%)	No	n/a	Total
U 20	4	25.5	18	2	24
20-25	2	12.5	8	0	10
26-30	2	12.5	16	0	18
31-35	1	6.0	11	0	12
36-40	2	12.5	10	1	13
41-45	3	19.0	12	0	15
46-50	1	6.0	6	0	7
51-55	0	0.0	1	0	1
56-60	0	0.0	2	0	2
O 60	1	6.0	3	0	4
	16			106	

15% of the women said that they did experience male harassment while on the job. This is not high, however, it can be considered to be traumatic for the women who have to deal with it especially in a Moslem society where the dealing with strange men is already considered shameful. Although the clustering is not pronounced, there is a tendency for the younger women to experience male harassments as 50.5% of the positive answers come from the women under age 30.

74. Is there a relationship between their personal characteristics and whether or not they experience "kashas"?

Hypothesis: Those women displaying the negative characteristics will be more likely to experience kashas than those with positive characteristics.

Positive Characteristics	Kashas Yes	Percentage	No
Young looking	36	35	30
Clean	21	20	18
Nice clothes	23	22	19
Cheerful	24	23	16
	104		83
Negative Characteristics	Yes	Percentage	No
Tired looking	23	13	17
Old looking	28	28	9
Dirty appearance	43	25	21
Poor clothes	41	23	20
Depressed	40	23	17
	175		84

Note: More than one characteristic can be attributed to each woman.

As can be seen there does not seem to be a case for expecting that a woman with a nice physical appearance and mannerisms is less vulnerable to being harassed by the public health inspectors. Though kashas seem to be more of a problem for the women who have a dirty appearance, are dressed in poor clothes and are depressed, there is not a large jump in the amount of women who said that kashas are a problem over the women who are for example, clean, young looking, dressed in nice clothes and are cheerful.

75. Is there a relationship between the age of the women and if they experience kashas as a problem?

Hypothesis: Using the same argument as the last question, those who are younger will not find kashas as a problem.

Age	Kashas		
	Yes	Percentage	No
U 20	12	19	10
20-25	6	9	4
26-30	10	15	8
31-35	9	14	3
36-40	9	3	1
41-45	8	13	7
46-50	4	7	3
51-55	0	0	1
56-60	2	3	0
O 60	4	6	0
	64		37

Again the hypothesis is not supported. There seems to be no tendency for older women to experience kashas to a greater degree than younger women.

Thus with the above two results, it can be said that personal appearance and age seem to have no affect whatsoever on whether the women are vulnerable to kashas. It would seem that public health inspectors want to get the women off the street and are not influenced by the women and their appearance.

76. Is there a relationship between her health and if she found that her main problem was a shortage of raw materials?

Hypothesis: The women who have worse health would find the shortage of materials a main problem because it would mean searching around for the materials.

Health Rating	Shortage is a Problem					
	True	%	False	%	no answer	Total
1	31	74	41	66	2	74
2	5	12	13	21	1	19
3	1	2	6	10	0	7
no rating	5	12	2	3	0	7
Total	42		62		3	107

1-excellent, 2-good, 3-poor.

Of the 100 women who volunteered to rate their own health, 74 said that they were in excellent health (1), 19 in fair health (2), and 7 in poor health (3). In this table, it is attempted to see if this rating of health has any affect on whether they find a shortage of raw materials to be a problem or not. As can be seen, of the women who said that a shortage of materials was a problem for them, 31 or 74% were actually in excellent health with only 2% being in poor health. Of those women who said that a shortage of materials was not a problem, an expected high number were rated in excellent health, but an unexpected 10%, which is higher than the 2% of those women in poor health who did find shortages a problem, did not find shortages a problem. Thus it does not seem that health has any real affect on what the women feel is a problem.

77. Is there a relationship between the health that the women have rated themselves and whether they said that they find male harassment a problem?

Hypothesis: If the logic of the previous question and hypothesis was to be followed, then it would be hypothesized in this question that the women in poorer health would find male harassment more of a problem than those women in good health. Or by contrast, it could be hypothesized that the women in good health would be more attractive to the male customers and thus would experience more harassment.

Health Rating	Harassment as a Problem					
	True	%	False	%	no answer	Total
1	12	71	60	69	2	74
2	3	18	15	17	1	19
3	1	5	6	7	0	7
No rating	1	4	6	7	0	7
Total	17		87		3	107
%	16		81		3	

The first hypothesis, that the women in poorer health would find male harassment more of a problem than those in good or excellent health is proven wrong by these results. Only 1 women in the health rating of 3 or 5 % said that she found male harassment a problem while 71% in the excellent health rating found it a problem. Thus it would seem that perhaps the second hypothesis, that the women in better health (more attractive) would experience more male harassment. However, overall it can be seen that 87 women or 81% said that they did not find male harassment to be a problem whereas only 17 women or 16% said that it was a problem. Thus, though the high proportion of those women in category 1 may indicate that health, attractiveness and male harassment may all go hand in hand, it is more likely that there is no real relationship between these elements and that the relationships are much more random.

78. Is there a relationship between the health of the women and whether they find kashas to be a main problem?

Hypothesis: Those in poorer health will find kashas to be more of a problem than those in excellent health.

Health Rating	Kasha is a problem					
	True	%	False	%	n/a	Total
1	43	66	29	78	2	74
2	10	15	8	22	1	19
3	7	11	0	0	0	7
No rating	5	8	0	0	0	5
Total	65	(100)	37	(100)	3	105

Of the 65 women (62% of the 105 responses) who answered that they found kashas to be a main problem, 43 of them or 66% also said that they were in excellent health. Thus it would seem that health and the problem of kashas has no real relationship and that regardless of health, kashas are a problem. However, it should also be noted that the frequency of health ratings as shown in Table 66 of the basic data and by the total column in this table, is as follows:

1	74
2	19
3	7

Thus it can also be seen that 100% of those in poor health said that kashas were a problem for them, 53% of those in fair health and 58% of those in excellent health reported kashas as a main problem. It is difficult to make any judgement on the significance or non significance of these percentages as the number of women in health rating 3 is so small. However, it may be said that there is a chance that there is a relationship between health and the problem of kashas.

79. Is there a relationship between the fact that the women experience problems with their work and the kind of job that they would prefer to do instead?

Hypothesis: Since there is no breakdown in the type of problem the women have the most problems with, there should be no effect on the type of job that they would prefer to do instead.

Job	Have Problems					
	True	%	False	%	n/a	Total
Salaried job	41	34	2	18	1	44
Home shop	45	37	3	27	0	48
Sell vegetables	25	20	1	9	0	26
No job at all	11	9	5	45	0	16
Total	22	(100)	11	(100)	1	134
%	91		8		1	

Of those that said that they had problems in their job of food selling, 91% said that they would prefer to do another job rather than have no job at all. Of these 111 women, there, however, does not seem to be any special preference for any of the three other jobs; a salaried job being the most preferred because of the reliability of the wages and the constancy of the hours.

80. Is there a relationship between the specific type of problems each of the women experienced the most and the type of job they would prefer to do?

Hypothesis: There will be a more marked relationship between the type of job and the problems experienced than just the fact that they experience problems and the type of job.

Type of Problem	Job Preferred							
	Salaried	%	Home Shop	%	No Job	%	Total	%
Shortage of materials	8	11	23	25	5	29	36	20
Cost of materials	6	8	20	21	4	23	30	16
Male harassment	9	12	5	5	1	6	15	8
Kashas	33	45	28	30	7	42	68	37
Customer complaints	8	11	4	4	0	0	12	7
Other	9	12	14	15	0	0	23	12
Total	73		94		17		184	
%	40		51		9			

It can be seen that the majority of the women (51%) wanted a shop in their home in which they could sell produce, food, etc with 40% wanting a salaried job and only 9% not wanting any job at all. Of the 40% who preferred a salaried job, the highest number (33 or 45%) felt that kashas was a major problem. However, kashas can be seen to be the problem which a large number of women (68 or 37%) experienced and therefore it is difficult to attach any significance to the relationship between kashas and the preferred type of job and in general, the whole question of type of problem and type of job preferred. The reason why it was thought that there might be a relationship between these two elements is because the food selling job has a number of inherent difficulties; one being the long and erratic hours worked, another being the unreliability of the daily income, three being the exposure to a wide public "audience" and four being having to be away from the home and children for very long periods of time. It was thought that the women who experienced these difficulties would be influenced towards another job which would not include them. Though in these results there does not seem to be much influence by the type of problem experienced, overall there does seem to be a trend towards the home shop where the women would not have to leave the home, would not experience kashas (if she could get a license) and would probably not have to work as long hours as they do now.

C. Reconciling Work and Family

81. Is there a relationship between the age of the women and whether she wants to work or not?

Hypothesis: The younger women will not want to work more so than the older women who are probably much more resigned to the hardships of life and have probably worked for so long anyway.

Age			No Job			
	True	%	False	n/a	Total	%
U 20	4	29	18	2	24	23
20-25	2	14	6	2	10	9
26-30	4	29	8	6	18	17
31-35	0	0	11	1	12	11
36-40	1	7	11	1	13	12
41-45	2	14	12	1	15	14
46-50	0	0	6	1	7	7
51-55	0	0	1	0	1	1
56-60	0	0	0	2	2	2
O 60	1	7	2	1	4	4
Total	14	75	17	106		
%	13	71	16			

Only 13% of the women of all ages said that they would prefer not to work at all. 71% said that they wanted to work and 16% were undecided. In terms of age breakdown, of those 13% who did not want to work, there does seem to be a clustering of the younger women (ages <20 to 30) with 72% of the 14 women. A breakdown of the ages of the women who said that they wanted to work seems to be distributed more evenly through the age groups. Thus it may be possible that age does have an effect on whether the women want to work or not. The reasons for this are difficult to assess given the limited information collected in this thesis.

82. Is there a relationship between the marital status of the women and whether they want to work or not?

Hypothesis: The ones that are married will want to work because they know that they cannot feed their children and survive without hers and her husband's income.

Hypothesis: Most of the women will want to work regardless of their marital status because the poverty of Khartoum is so pervasive that all women whatever their marital status will need to work to survive.

Marital Status	No Job						
	True	%	False	%	n/a	Total	%
Single	3	21	15	20	4	22	21
Married	8	58	40	53	10	58	54
Divorced	2	14	12	16	1	15	14
Widowed	1	7	9	11	2	12	11
Total	14		76		17	107	
%	13		71		16		

Of those that answered that they would want to work (71%), 53% were married, and 80% were married or had been married at some stage (widowed/divorced). Only 20% were single. It seems that the women who are/were married know that they have no other choice but to work and are realistic about it whereas the single women who are still living with their parents may think that working is not a necessity, especially if they can marry a man who is more well-off.

83. Is there a relationship between the marital status of the women and whether they have control of their earnings?

Hypothesis: Those women who are married may have to give their income over to their husbands.

Marital Status	Keep Money						
	True	%	False	%	n/a	Total	%
Single	12	13	1	25	9	22	21
Married	55	60	1	25	2	58	54
Divorced	13	14	2	50	0	15	14
Widowed	12	13	0	0	0	12	11
Total	92		4		11	107	
%	86		4		10		

The hypothesis is proved wrong. Regardless of the marital status of the women, the majority (86%) kept the money made from their food selling job.

84. Is there a relationship between marital status and if they chose to sell at their location because it is near home?

Hypothesis: Those that are single will not worry as much about distance to their home because they have less responsibilities to worry about.

Hypothesis: Alternatively, married women will not choose their location on the basis of distance because they have more responsibilities to worry about and know they must make money for their family and thus are willing to go anywhere.

Marital Status	Near Home						
	True	%	False	%	n/a	Total	%
Single	10	17	12	24	0	22	21
Married	29	51	28	57	1	58	54
Divorced	9	16	6	12	0	15	14
Widowed	9	16	3	6	0	12	11
Total	57		49		1	107	
%	53		46		1		

53% of the women said they had chosen their location because it was near their home as compared to 46% who said that nearness to their home was not part of their decision in choosing their location. It seems that nearness to their home is not, therefore, a particularly strong reason why they selected their selling location. This is demonstrated again when the women are separated into the appropriate marital status. Of the 58 married women, a strong 51% said that they had chosen their selling location because it was near to their home. However, an even stronger 57% said nearness was not a factor in their selection of locations. Likewise, combining all the 85 women who are/were married (married, divorced, widowed), 83% said nearness was a factor and 79% said it was not. As for the single women, there are also no differences with 17% saying nearness was a factor and 24% saying it was not.

85. Is there a relationship between the fact that the women have children and the fact that they chose their selling location because of its proximity to their home?

Hypothesis: The women who have children will want to work more closely to their homes so that they can spend as much time as possible with them.

Hypothesis: Conversely, the women who have children will be willing to go great distances to wherever they can get a good profit because they need to feed their families.

Have Children	Near Home True	%	False	%	n/a	%	Total
True	42	52	38	47	1	1	81

52% of the 81 women with children said that nearness to their home was a factor in selecting their selling location while a close 47% said it was not a factor. Thus, it does not seem that having children and choice of selling location has an affect on the other.

86. Is there a relationship between the number of children that the (81) women have and whether they chose their selling location because of its proximity to home?

Hypothesis: Though the previous relationship proved to be non existent, it is thought that the greater the number of children the women each have, the more likely they will select their selling location based on proximity to their homes.

Number of Children	Near Home True	%	False	%	n/a	Total
1	5	12	5	14	0	10
2	1	2	4	11	0	5
3	8	19	5	14	0	13
4	7	16	4	11	0	11
5	4	9	7	11	1	12
6	10	23	4	11	0	14
7	3	7	4	11	0	7
8	2	5	3	7	0	5
9	3	7	0	0	0	3
10	0	0	1	2	0	1
Total	43		37		1	81 (+26) = 107

It seems there is no real clustering of any of the number of children groups who answered that nearness to home was a factor in the selection of their selling location. Additionally, the women who have over 6 children do not indicate that nearness is a factor at all. Going across the table, it is also noticeable that an equal % of the women with one child answer that nearness is a factor (50%) and is not a factor (50%), with 20% and 80% in category two, 61% and 39% in three, 64% and 36% in four, 33% and 58% with five, 71% and 39% with six children, 43% and 57% with seven, 40% and 60% with eight, 100% and 0% in nine and 0% and 100% with 10 children. The fact that the importance of the proximity of the selling location to their homes keeps shifting without any recogniseable pattern shows that there really is no relationship between selection of location based on nearness to home and the fact that the women have children and the number of children that they have.

87. Is there a relationship between the age of the husband and whether the women will continue to work or not?

Hypothesis: The women with husbands who are 50 and over will continue to work.

Age		Continue to Work			
	True	%	False	n/a	Total
U 20	3		1	1	5
20-25	-		-	-	-
26-30	-		-	-	-
31-35	10		3	0	13
36-40	-		-	-	-
41-45	5		2	0	7
46-50	5		2	0	7
51-55	3		3	0	6
56-60	4		1	0	5
O 60	9		2	1	12

88. Is there a relationship between the age of the women and how long she will stay at the selling location?

Hours				Age							
	U20	-25	-30	-35	-40	-45	-50	-55	-60	>60	Total
1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
3	2	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
4	3	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	10
5	2	0	3	1	5	4	1	0	0	0	16
6	2	0	4	1	2	4	1	0	0	2	16
7	1	1	4	0	1	1	2	1	0	0	11
8	4	1	4	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	13
9	3	4	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	9
10	1	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	5
11	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	5
12	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3
13	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
14	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
15	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	21	9	20	11	12	15	6	1	2	3	100

There does not seem to be clustering at any one age group or number of age groups. Most of the women (75%) seemed to stay between 4 and 9 hours at the selling place.

89. Is there a relationship between if the women have children and how long they will stay at the selling location?

Hypothesis: Again there are two ways of looking at this question. Those with children may want to spend more time with them and therefore do not spend as long hours at the market as those women without children. On the other hand, those women with children may have to work longer hours to make enough money to feed their families.

Hours	Have Children						
	True	%	False	%	n/a	Total	%
1-3	5	6	3	12	0	8	7
4-6	36	47	4	17	1	41	41
7-9	24	32	11	46	0	35	35
10-12	9	12	4	17	0	13	13
13-15	1	1.5	2	8	0	3	3
15-18	1	1.5	0	0	0	1	1
Total	76		24		1		101

If there was a relationship between having children and the number of hours the women spend at the selling location, it would be expected that there be clustering in the 1-9 hour rows of the True column. If there was no relationship there should be clustering in the 10-18 hour rows or an equal distribution of hours amongst the women who have children. It can be seen that 65 women or 85% are within the 1-9 hour grouping. Therefore it may be possible that children do affect the lenght of time the women spend at the selling location.

90. Is there a relationship between marital status and how long the women stay at the selling place?

Hypothesis: There will be no affect on length of time at the market by the marital status of the women as the activities of the women seem to have no interaction with those of the husband simply because it is a survival type situation.

Hours	Marital Status									
	Single	%	Married	%	Divorced	%	Widowed	%	Total	%
1-3	3	14	4	6	1	7	0	0	8	7
4-6	5	23	26	45	6	40	4	34	41	38
7-9	8	36	18	31	6	40	3	25	35	33
10-12	3	14	5	9	2	13	3	25	13	12
13-15	2	9	1	2	0	0	0	0	3	3
16-18	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
n/a	0	0	4	7	0	0	2	16	6	6
Total	22		58		15		12		107	100
%	21		54		14		11			

Of the single women, which is 21% in total, 73% stayed 1-9 hours. Of the married women (54% of the total), 82% stayed 1-9 hours; for the divorced women, the is 87%, and for the widowed women, 59%, with a total of 78% for all categories. Therefore in all of the marital stautus categories, the majority of the women stayed between 1 and 9 hours with much less than half (16% on average) staying 10 hours and more. Thus it does not seem that marital status has any effect on the length of time spent in the market.

91. Is there a relationship between the age of the women and the time they leave home to go to the selling location?

Hypothesis: There will be no affect of age on what time they leave home because the women will leave at the time they feel they will collect the most profit at the market place.

Time	Age											
	U20	-25	-30	-35	-40	-45	-50	-55	-60	>60	Total	%
4 am	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	4
5 am	5	0	3	1	2	2	2	0	0	1	16	15
6 am	6	1	3	7	2	0	2	0	0	0	21	20
7 am	7	6	5	1	2	4	0	1	1	1	28	26
8 am	1	0	2	1	4	2	1	0	1	1	13	12
9 am	0	0	3	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	6	6
10am	2	0	1	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	8	7
11am	1	0	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	5	5
noon	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
1 pm	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
2 pm	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
Total	24	10	18	12	13	15	7	1	2	4	107	

There does not seem to be any amount of clustering at a specific time and age group combination. As following the basic data information which places 74% of the women leaving home between the hours of 5 and 9 am, this table shows 73% leaving home between these hours but with no real clustering of this time at any specific age group. Therefore it does not seem that age has any effect on the time that the women leave their home to go to their selling location.

92. Is there a relationship between the marital staus of the women and what time they leave their home for the selling location?

Hypothesis: There will be no relationship because the activities of the women and their husbands seem to have absolutely no interplay on the daily basis.

Time	Marital Status				
	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Total
4 am	1	3	0	0	4
5 am	2	8	2	4	16
6 am	5	13	2	1	21
7 am	6	13	7	2	28
8 am	1	8	1	3	13
9 am	1	3	1	1	6
10am	3	5	0	0	8
11am	1	3	1	0	5
noon	0	2	0	1	3
1 pm	1	0	1	0	2
2 pm	1	0	0	0	1
Total	22	58	15	12	107

There does not seem to be any relationship between the time they leave home and their marital status. The majority of the women left home between the hours of 5am and 8 am, both in total and whatever marital status they were in.

93. Is there a relationship between the time that the women leave home for the selling location and the fact that they have children?

Hypothesis: Having children will not affect the time that they leave home because they will leave the children in someone's care or they will leave them alone at home or the children will go to school. The most important priority seems to be getting to the market so that the prime demand times are met.

Time	Have Children Number	 Percentage
4 am	3	4
5 am	13	16
6 am	15	19
7 am	18	22
8 am	12	15
9 am	6	7
10am	5	6
11am	4	5
noon	3	4
1 pm	1	1
2 pm	1	1

Again most of the women left their homes between the hours of 5 am and 8 or 9 am. Thus age, marital status and having children seem to have no effect on the time the women leave their homes to go to the selling location.

D. Perceptions of Life in Khartoum

94. Is there a relationship between the marital status of the women and whether they think life has improved or declined since coming to Khartoum?

Marital Status	Improved	%	Declined	%	n/a	Total
Married	23	61	26	58	9	58
Single	7	18	3	7	12	22
Divorced	3	8	9	20	3	15
Widowed	5	13	7	15	0	12
Total	38		45		24	107
%	26		42		22	

26% of the women that answered this question said that they felt life had improved since coming to Khartoum. 42% said they felt life had declined. Of those that felt life had improved, 61% were married, 18% were single and 21% were divorced or widowed. Of those that felt life had declined, 58% were married, 7% single, 20% divorced and 15% were widowed. There is not much difference between the married women in whether they felt life had improved or declined, both being higher than 50%. But there does seem to be differences in the single and divorced categories. The single women seemed to feel that life had improved more so than declined whereas with the divorced women it seems that the majority thought that life had declined rather than improved (60% declined as compared to 20% improved).

95. Is there a relationship between the rental status of the women and their families and whether they feel life has improved or declined?

Rental Status	Improved	%	Declined	%	n/s	%	Total
Rented	7	19	14	33	11	61	32
Owned	5	13	12	29	4	22	21
Squat(own)	26	68	13	31	3	17	42
Squat(rent)	0	0	3	7	0	0	3
Total	38		42		18		98

96. Is there a relationship between the year that they came to Khartoum and whether they feel life has improved or declined?

Year	Improved	%	Declined	%	n/s	%	Total
Pre 1950	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1951-60	1	3	3	7	0	0	4
1961-70	8	22	10	23	0	0	18
1971-80	9	24	9	21	1	100	19
1981-90	19	51	21	49	0	0	40
Total	37		43		1		81

Almost half of the women migrated to Khartoum between the years of 1980 to 1990 as compared to the combined years of pre1950 to 1980. Using the percentage of the total number of women who found that life had improved and/or declined, it can be seen that the women in the 1980-90 category of course dominate (51% and 49%). Therefore it does not seem that it can be said that any one category of women ie based on when they migrated to Khartoum has a preponderance to saying that life had improved or that life had declined since coming to Khartoum.

97. Is there a relationship between if they find life has improved or declined and whether their husbands are unemployed?

Hypothesis: The women whose husbands were unemployed would find life had declined more often than those with husbands that were not unemployed.

	Improved	Declined	n/s	Total
Unemployed	11	9	6	26

26 or 46% of the women had unemployed husbands. There appears to be no relationship between the employment of their husbands and whether the women find life has improved or declined since migrating to Khartoum.

98. Is there a relationship between the year that the women migrated to Khartoum and whether they will continue to work at this food selling job or not?

Hypothesis: Those who came in 1970-80 and 1980-90 will continue to work more than those who came earlier because of greater economic need.

Year			Continue Work		
	% Continue	True	False	N/s	Total
Pre50	-	-	-	-	-
50-60	75	3	1	0	4
60-70	77	14	3	1	18
70-80	74	14	4	1	19
80-90	75	30	10	0	40
Total		61	18	2	81

On average 75% of every group (year of migration) said that they will continue selling food as their work. Thus the year of migration does not seem to have any effect on whether they will continue to work or not.

99. Is there a relationship between the year of migration to Khartoum and if they would like to go back home?

Year	Return Home								
	True	%	False	%	Unsure	%	n/a	%	Total
Pre50	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
50-60	0	0	2	50	2	50	0	0	4
60-70	4	22	5	28	9	50	0	0	18
70-80	2	11	11	58	6	32	0	0	19
80-90	12	30	14	35	13	33	1	2	40

The majority in each group (based on year of migration) said that they would not return home even if conditions worsened for them in Khartoum with the exception of the women who came in 1980-90, where only 35% said that they would not go back home. It is difficult to understand why these women answered this way as one would expect that the women who came in 1980-90 came because of drought and famine conditions in their rural homes and therefore would see Khartoum as somewhat of a saviour despite the poor life styles in the city.

100. Is there a relationship between the state of the women's health and whether they would return to their rural homes?

Health	Return Home									
	%^	True	%>	%^	False	%>	%^	Unsure	%	Total
1	56	9	12	71	24	71	74	40	55	73
2	44	7	37	15	5	26	13	7	37	19
3	0	0	0	12	4	57	6	3	43	7
None	0	0	0	2	1	20	7	4	80	5
Total		16			34			54		104

%^ Percentage of total true, false, unsure (return home).
%> Percentage of total in health rating.

Using the percentage s of the total in each health rating, there does not seem to be any differences between the health groups. However, using the percentage of the total return home responses (%^), it can be seen that most (56%) of the women that would go home are in health rating 1 (excellent), and 100% are in ratings 1 and 2 combined. However, looking at the false column, it can be seen again that the majority (71%) who said that they would not go home are also in excellent health with 15% in health rating 2. The same thing occurs in the unsure category with 55% in health rating 1 and 37% in health 2. Thus it seems that there is no relationship between health and whether they would go home or not if conditions worsened in Khartoum.

101. Is there a relationship between the marital status of the women and whether they enjoy their work or not?

Marital Status	Enjoy Work				
	True	%	False	%	Total
Single	15	68	7	32	22
Married	29	50	29	50	58
Divorced	5	33	10	67	15
Widowed	4	33	8	67	12
Total	53		54		107

For the single women it seems that most (68%) enjoy their work. The married women are undecided. Most of the divorced women (67%) and the widowed women (67%) did not seem to enjoy their work. Thus there may be a relationship between the marital staus of the women and whether they enjoy their work or not.

102. Is there a relationship between the health of the women and whether they enjoy their work or not?

Hypothesis: Those women in poorer health would not enjoy their work.

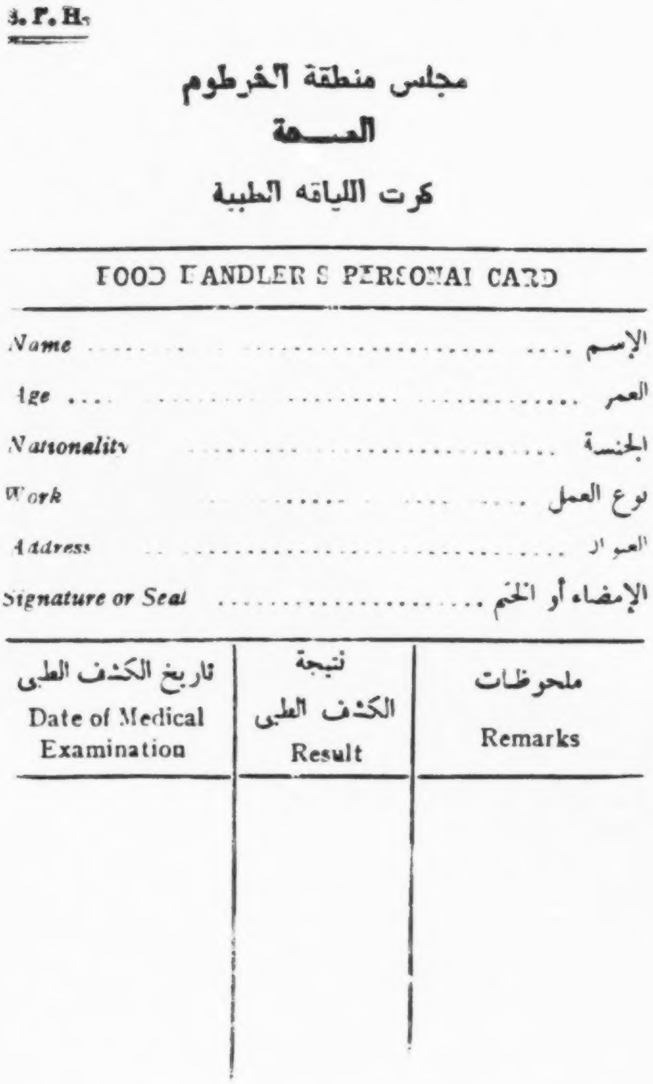
Health	Enjoy Work True	%	False	%	Total	%T	%F
1	43	81	31	56	74	58	42
2	6	11	13	24	19	32	68
3	4	8	4	7	7	57	43
No rating	0	0	7	13	7	0	100
Total	53		55		107		

Of those that said that they enjoyed their work, 81% were in health rating 1 (excellent) with 11% in health 2 and 8% in health rating 3. It may seem from this that those with excellent health enjoy their work more than those in poorer health. However, this is not the case as of those women who said they did not enjoy their work, the majority again are in the health group 1 (66%). If one looks then at the % of the those who answered true and false (enjoy work) per each health group, it can be seen that in group 1, 58% said they enjoyed work, 42% said they did not. In group 2 the figures are 32% enjoy, 68% not enjoy, and in group 3 it is 57% enjoy and 43% not enjoy. Thus, in groups 1 and 3, the majority enjoy their work whereas in group 2 the majority does not enjoy their work. In conclusion, there does not seem to be any differences between health groups and whether they enjoy their work or not. Thus health does not seem to influence enjoyment of work whatsoever.

APPENDIX VII
SAMPLE CRITERIA FOR FOOD HANDLING LICENSES GRANTED TO RESTAURANTS, CAFES, KIOSKS, ETC.

1. Rebuilding of all floor with cement.
2. Maintenance of walls, roofs, sewages and water supply.
3. The painting of all doors and windows.
4. The painting of walls with lime, with the painting to the height of 1 1/2 metres.
5. The painting of tables, chairs and objects is required.
6. The installation of protective wire netting for windows of the kitchen to keep insects away.
7. The provision of insect killer (pifpaf) should be done daily both before and after work.
8. The provision of good, clean drinking water.
9. The provision of a container for ice.
10. The provision of a suitable box for keeping bread.
11. The provision of a container for keeping waste.
12. Work outside the place is not permitted.
13. The place should be painted in white from the outside and door and windows should be green.
14. Health cards for all labourers must be issued.
15. A refrigerator must be provided for keeping ice.
16. Dirty water must be disposed of without spreading it on the street.
17. Sufficient and new utensils and equipment must be available and the use of plastic utensils is prohibited.
18. The office should be notified once the above specifications and conditions are met so that a license may be issued.

APPENDIX VIII
COPY OF A FOOD HANDLERS MEDICAL CARD



S. F. H.

مجلس منطقة الخرطوم

الصحة

كرت اللياقه الطبية

FOOD HANDLER'S PERSONAL CARD

Name .... الإسم

Age .... العمر

Nationality .... الجنسية

Work .... نوع العمل

Address .... العنوان

Signature or Seal .... الإمضاء أو الختم

تاريخ الكشف الطبى Date of Medical Examination	نتيجة الكشف الطبى Result	ملحوظات Remarks